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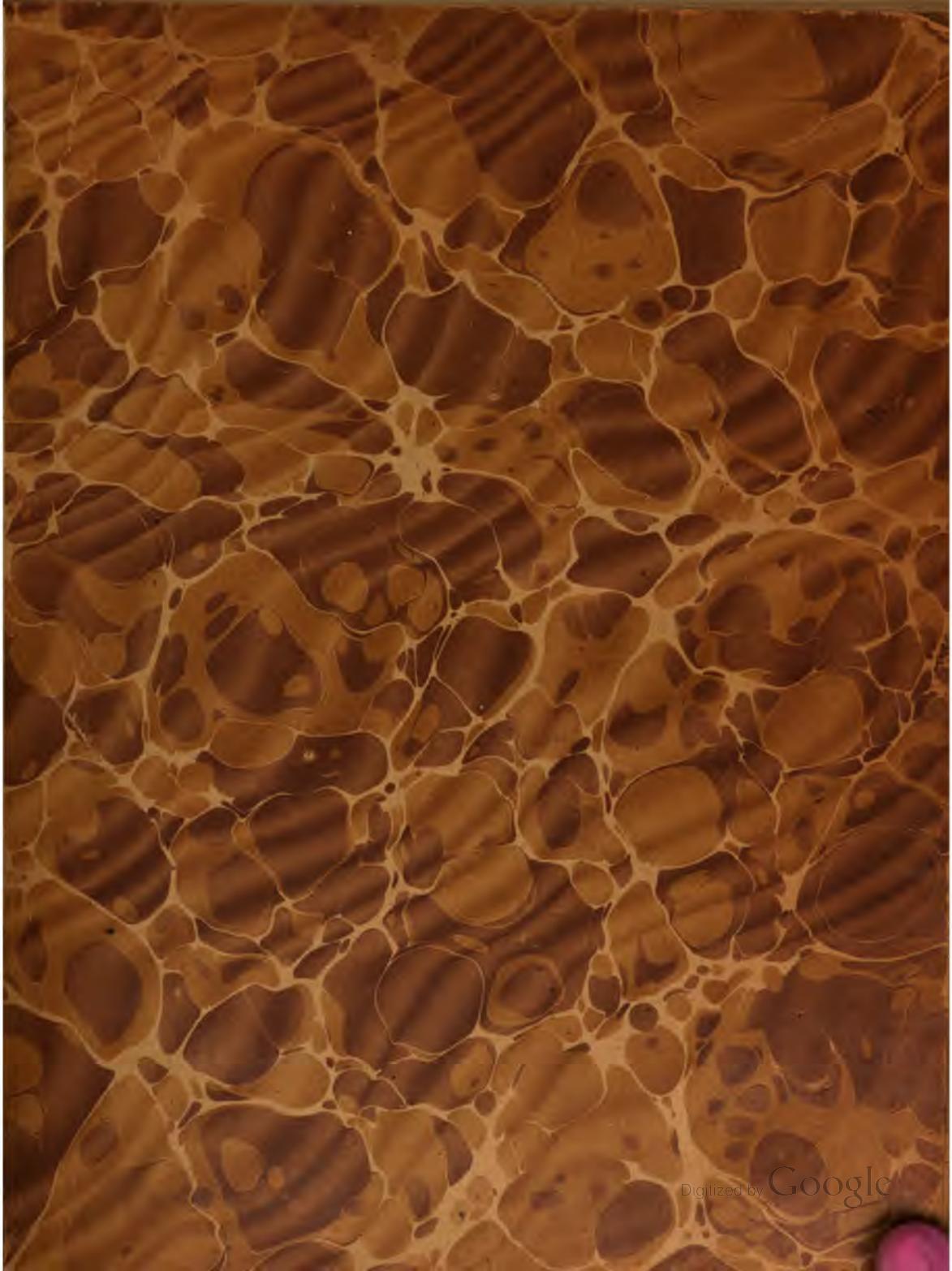
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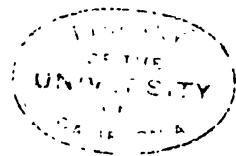
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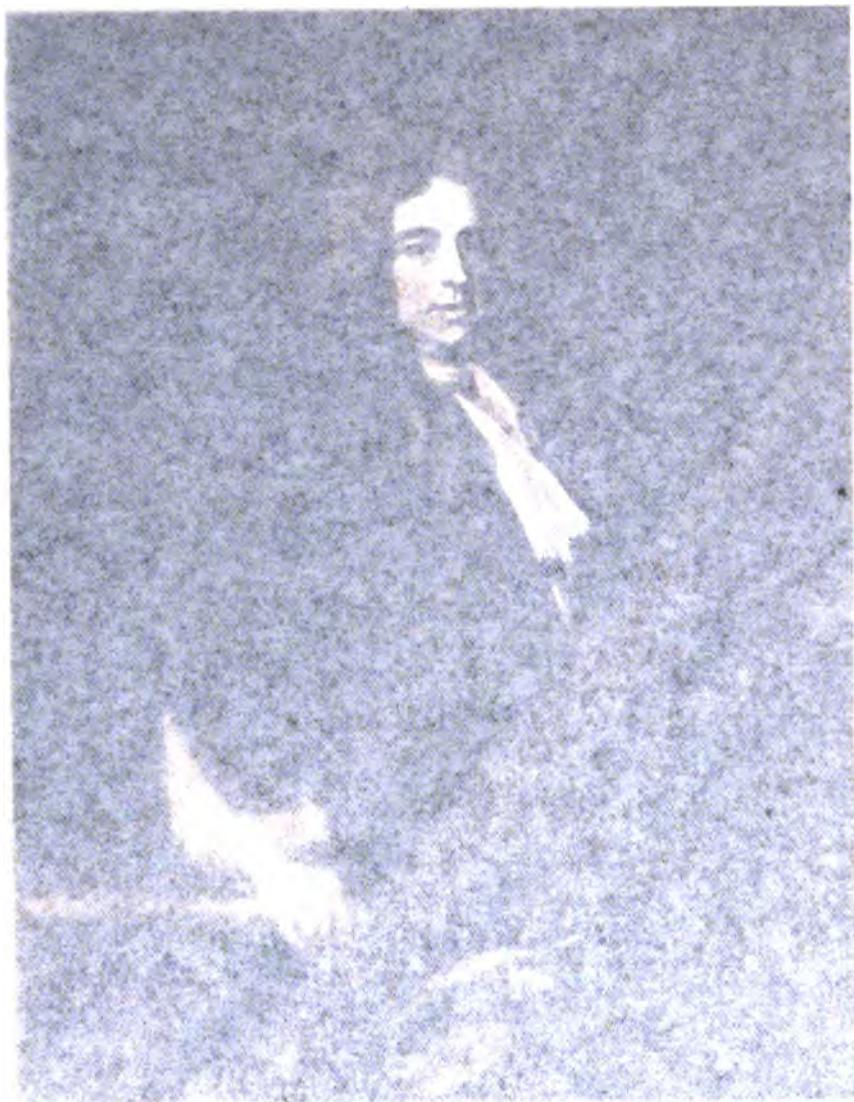


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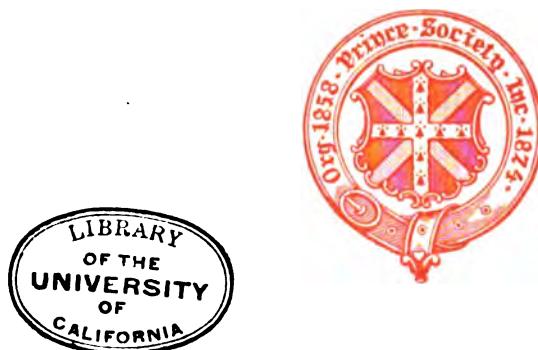
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INCLUDING

HIS LETTERS AND OFFICIAL PAPERS FROM THE NEW ENGLAND,
MIDDLE, AND SOUTHERN COLONIES IN AMERICA,
AND THE WEST INDIES.

1678-1700.

VOL. VI.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
THE REV. ALFRED THOMAS SCROPE GOODRICK, A.M.,
FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.



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ILLUSTRATION.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT *Frontispiece*

The engraving is from a portrait of William Blathwayt by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the possession of the Rev. Wynter T. Blathwayt of Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, England.

The portrait bears the following legend:—

William Blathwayt Secretary at War. Secretary of State to
K^G W^m. Com'r for Trade & Plantations. Clerk of the
Privy Council. in ye Reigns of K^G Ch: II. — Ia: II. — W^m
Anne. Ob: 1717

The facsimile of William Blathwayt's signature is taken from a document dated May 15, 1701, in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. III., No. 88.



INTRODUCTION.



THE documents here published are to be considered as supplementary to the five volumes of letters and official papers of and relating to Edward Randolph, edited for the Prince Society by the late Mr. Toppan. Those volumes contain practically the whole of Randolph's despatches and memorials down to the year 1695, with a few of later date, and a small collection of semi-private letters addressed to his friend Sir Robert Southwell. The papers here given are mostly of the latter class and were written to Randolph's friend and patron William Blathwayt, who was at first Secretary to the Committee of Council on Trade and Plantations, and afterwards himself a member of the Board of Trade, by which that Committee was superseded. It was Randolph's custom to convey in his letters to Blathwayt a large amount of matter of mixed public and private interest; and these letters the Secretary, if he thought fit, communicated direct to the Committee, in which case they are to be found among the State Papers; but more often he kept them to himself and made use of the information they contained for

VOL. VI. — I

the

the purposes of the office. Such letters are invaluable as supplementing the formal despatches, and they also fill the great gaps to be found in these latter; for Randolph often left My Lords or the Customs without a report¹ for weeks, while he wrote constantly to their Secretary, well assured that his information would be utilized. On Blathwayt's retirement from office, a disappointed man,² he took these letters with him to his fine new house at Dyrham in Gloucestershire, and there they remained practically untouched until, by the courtesy of his descendant, the Rev. Wynter Blathwayt, the present editor was allowed access to them. By the kind favour of the Marquess of Bath it has been possible to supplement these by a few documents from his magnificent collection of manuscripts at Longleat, containing important information as to Randolph's early career. Lastly, some hitherto unedited papers have been added from those preserved at the Public Record Office, where the documents are now rendered more accessible, especially by the publication of Calendars, than they were when the first five volumes of this work were published.

First in order of time come the documents from the Marquess of Bath's Library, which are there included among the papers of Henry Coventry,³ Secretary of State under Charles II. From one of these we learn that Randolph, who has been assumed to have graduated at Oxford, was in reality

¹ Letter LXXXVIII., postscript: "I know not how the Custome House will take it that I impart to you papers properly to be addrest there."

² He expected to be made Earl of Bristol: *supra*, Vol. II. *note* 269.

³ Henry Coventry's sister married Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, ancestor of the present Marquess of Bath, and was by him mother of Henry Thynne, one of the clerks of the Privy Council to whom Letter VI. is addressed.

reality a Cambridge man; and a further light is thrown upon a portion of his life of which Mr. Toppan writes "no trace has yet been found to indicate where Randolph was living for nearly eight years after the date of the last letter," — that is, after June, 1668. It now appears that for sixteen years previous to 1676 he had been, according to his own statement, "Commissary of the Cinque Ports," and from a cursory allusion in the *Domestic State Papers* we find that he was living near Dover, where he lost nearly all his property by fire.

These autobiographical details occur in a very curious document. In April, 1678, the Massachusetts agents Bulkley and Stoughton, alarmed by the probability of Randolph's being sent as Collector to New England, with large powers to enforce the Acts of Trade, drew up a singular petition to the Commissioners of Customs, in which, after speaking of Randolph as too poor to be honest, as bitterly hostile to the Boston government, and as so much hated that they could not answer for his personal safety if he were sent, they actually suggested that the nomination of a Collector should be left to them, though they were at the time almost in the position of defendants in an action brought by the Crown. This did not help their cause, and Randolph had no difficulty in drawing up a telling Reply, in which, after enumerating his qualifications, he sardonically suggested with regard to the menace of personal outrage "that those who foretell such mischief *unless they can shew Instructions for it* may be kept here as pledges for one to be sent thither in his Majesty's service."⁴

It

⁴ Letter III.

It is evident, however, that the insisting of the Agents on Randolph's unpopularity had had its effect. The Commissioners of Customs do indeed recommend⁵ him to the Lord Treasurer, but in terms of great reserve, and they add that as to his "being obnoxious to the hatred of that People," that is a matter of State and does not come within their purview.

Before Randolph could leave for America, his enemies made their last desperate effort to detain him.⁶ On 11th June, (1679), "on his way near the Royall Exchange London" he was arrested at the suit of one Gavin Laurie on the score of a trifling debt contracted some ten years before, during his stay in the North of Scotland. Randolph appealed to Coventry; and Coventry seems to have acted at once and effectually: for immediately afterwards the debtor was at large and in attendance upon the Plantations Committee.

Others of the Longleat documents have already been printed in these Memoirs; but it should be noted that to the "Short Narrative touching the Delivery" of letters, dated 20th September, 1676, and given above,⁷ there is attached in Coventry's copy a lengthy petition of inhabitants of Massachusetts, presented to their Government in 1666, suggesting more loyal obedience to the King's commands. To this petition and to the severity with which those who subscribed it were treated, reference is made in a letter printed above (Vol. II. p. 223).

There follow one or two documents from the Public Records

⁵ Letter IV.

⁶ Letter V.

⁷ Vol. II. p. 216.

Records which emphasize and substantiate Randolph's complaints not only against the Colonial authorities but against those of the Channel Islands and of local custom houses like those of Minehead and Carlisle. In one of these⁸ is recorded a most singular episode: having appeared in an ordinary revenue case before the Council of New Hampshire, he was asked the highly irrelevant question "where the Earl of Danby was," and replying, with almost justifiable irritation, that "he was hanged for all he knew" so stirred the loyalty of Waldern and his friends that he was sharply called to account and compelled to apologize humbly. That his complaints about the Customs officers at home were justified is shewn by the prompt dismissal⁹ of one of them (at Minehead) by the Commissioners of Customs, who plainly acted with the greatest impartiality, quite disregarding Randolph's complaints where his proceedings seemed to run counter to the customs of the country. But the effrontery of the violators of the A&ts of Trade clearly appears from the case of the ship *Hope*,¹⁰ the master of which claimed to have manufactured thirty pipes of Malmsey himself, a statement which was corroborated by the Governor "after dinner." So too, Randolph's attempt to recover a deposit of ten pounds illegally extorted from him by Danforth was defeated mainly by the plea that a Governor could not be held responsible to an inferior court.¹¹

These documents will not give the reader a high idea of Randolph's character. But they forcibly illustrate the probable

⁸ Number XI.

⁹ Number XII a.

¹⁰ Number XIII.

¹¹ Number XXI.

able motive of his most reprehensible actions. His was¹² indeed one of those unhappy natures for which the term "martinet" has been coined. A breach of discipline or an infraction of the law causes such a man positive anguish of mind; and in Randolph's case, advancing years aggravated this feeling till it became almost a monomania. Did a subordinate, anticipating the methods of the modern excise, make a small purchase from a foreign "interloper," in order to obtain evidence against him, Randolph promptly accused¹³ the luckless officer of illegal trading. This furious zeal for the revenue naturally made him impatient with all those semi-constitutional subterfuges by which the Navigation Acts were evaded, as indeed they were in every colony from Penobscot to Jamaica. It was absurd to allege, as Mather did, that Randolph instituted law suits to upset constitutions; but he was quite capable of upsetting constitutions in order to win law-suits. Yet no one can doubt that if the Acts had been loyally carried out—if juries could have been found to convict interlopers on the plainest evidence—then Randolph's accusations of disloyalty against Massachusetts would have fallen flat. As it was, they were welcomed by honourable men like Southwell and Blathwayt as means to a desirable end. That end was the Union of the New England colonies (at least) under one Government, from which a strict administration of the laws of Trade might be exacted.

These

¹² H. Ferguson very truly says that Randolph was "a man of strict probity and honesty of life, but unable to see more than one side of any question." *Sir Edmund Andros: an Address to*

the Westchester Historical Society, 28th October, 1892.

¹³ See the case of Walliams, Letter CX.

These letters plainly shew that with increasing years Randolph's temper became worse and more trying. Tormented by internal disease of a most painful kind, and perpetually short of money, he seems in his latter days to have made no single friend. In earlier life he had been respected and even admired by the more zealous servants¹⁴ of the Crown in the colonies, and in his imprisonment he was assured of the sympathy of men of position like Van Cortlandt and Brock-holes¹⁵ of New York, while John Usher always remained his faithful friend. But his trick of making enemies kept him poor. Endowed with considerable perspicacity in estimating character, and with a matchless knowledge of the affairs of every colony on the Atlantic seaboard, called in to assist the Board of Trade in the most delicate matters concerning the appointment of others to office, he nevertheless died so poor that he could bequeath¹⁶ to his family little more than the expectation of arrears of salary due from two men¹⁷ whom he had done his best to make his enemies.

This poverty is indeed the best answer to the ill-supported charges of corruption which were twice and twice only brought against him in the course of a long official career, once by his enemies, the Massachusetts agents, and once by the drunken profligate, Governor Copley of Maryland. His purity of conduct in this respect is the more remarkable because it was the age of "gratifications," public and secret.

To

¹⁴ Cf. Muschamp's Letter, Vol. IV. 1690, no. 715, printed *post*, Letter XCIX.
p. 259.

¹⁵ Vol. IV. p. 258. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*,
¹⁶ Vol. IV. p. 288.

¹⁷ George Plater of Patuxent and Gilbert Nelson of Bermuda.

To quote no other and no worse example, we may take that of Samuel Pepys — certainly not a dishonest man, but a zealous servant of the state — whom we find exulting from year to year over an apparently automatic and unearned increment of capital. On the other hand we see Randolph with his vast opportunities, his semi-independence of the home authorities, and his distance from any authority which could call him to account, dying a poor man. We may at least conclude that venality was not among his bad qualities.

The greatest blot upon his reputation is undoubtedly his letter¹⁸ to Sir Nicholas Butler here published. It was probably never intended for Blathwayt's eyes, but like everything else connected with the Plantations, it was sure sooner or later to pass through his hands. It is neither more nor less than a proposal, addressed to a pervert from the Church of England, to apply money raised for Protestant purposes to the establishment of a Romanist mission among the Indians.

That this would have been a politic move is probably true; but that the proposal should come from Randolph, who professed himself a devoted member of the Anglican Church at a time when that Church was fighting for her life against Roman encroachment, and when the laxest of her children, like Colonel Kirke himself, were rejecting with scorn the bribes of the Popish party at home, is nothing less than revolting. In a subsequent letter¹⁹ to Blathwayt himself, Randolph makes a passing allusion to the possibility of sending "preifts" out, but puts forward no definite proposal like this.

The first batch of Blathwayt letters belongs to the years
1682-3

¹⁸ Letter LXVIII.

¹⁹ Letter LXX.

1682-3 and is concerned with the troubles of Randolph's "coufin" (really his wife's brother-in-law) Mason, in New Hampshire; the letters, which include several from Edward Cranfield to the Secretary, throw a strong light at once upon the vigour of Randolph's character and the reliance placed on him by weaker men, and also upon the opposition he encountered not only from open and insulting enemies, but from treacherous friends like Cranfield himself. The latter had been appointed Governor of New Hampshire with the consent, if not at the suggestion²⁰ of Mason, whose daughter (with a dowry of £3000) had apparently²¹ been promised him in marriage. He arrived in his province at the beginning of October and was not long in discovering that Mason's rosy picture of colonial fortunes was a false one. Nevertheless, he was prepared to support his prospective father-in-law, and hoped that he and Randolph might be successful in their suit against the two turbulent politicians Waldern and Martin.²² To this effect he writes on 23d October,²³ 1682. On 1st December²⁴ he has executed a complete change of front, is convinced of the loyalty of Waldern and Martin, and inclined to believe their countercharges against Mason. In his private letter to Blathwayt accompanying his public despatch,²⁵ he goes further. He derides Mason's hopes altogether, and with various hints of jobs to be perpetrated²⁶ for his own and his correspondent's benefit, suggests that any

dirty

²⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1682, nos. 374, 375.

²¹ Letter XVII.

²² The Articles against these two, promoted by Randolph, are printed *post*, Number XVI.

²³ Letter XV.

²⁴ Letter XVII.

²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1683, no. 824.

²⁶ Letter XVII.

dirty work to be done shall be imposed on Randolph, "who is sufficiently disgusting to them already."²⁷ If any favour is to be shewn to the colonists, he and Blathwayt alone are to have the credit of it. Randolph is there to be left out of the account altogether, "it being likely to goe more smooth if Mr. Randolph be unconcerned."

But Cranfield, though malicious enough and doublets a diplomatist in his own conceit, was but a weathercock of a man. In a few weeks' time he had again changed his opinion of Waldern at all events. Writing to Blathwayt on 10th January, 1683,²⁸ he laments that he had been "so charitable to believe they (Waldern and Moody) were better men than now I find them." On 10th February²⁹ he has quite fathomed the iniquity of the New Hampshire men. Gove's "Insurrection" has shewn him their true character, and he is "resolved to stand by Mr. Randolph in putting the Acts of Trade and Navigation in execution." He is now the latter's sincere friend and supporter,³⁰ and considers all his complaints fully substantiated. Randolph, who estimated the "Insurrection" at its proper value, and in his own account³¹ of things reduced Cranfield's hysterical statements to their residuum of truth, must have felt deep disdain for so changeable a creature, and probably Blathwayt shared his feeling. The latter seems to have treated with contempt the Governor's suggestions³² of large profits to be made by forfeitures

²⁷ Letter XVII.

²⁸ Letter XX.

²⁹ Letter XXIV.

³⁰ Letter XXIV.

³¹ Letter XXII.

³² Cranfield's ideas of "gratifica-

tions" may be gathered from a letter from Barbadoes, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 111, in which he sends £3 "to be spent in the company of yourself (James Vernon), Mr. Yard, and Mr. Lowndes" (presumably

feitures and sale of pardons, and probably told Randolph of Cranfield's hints to his disadvantage; this is at least one explanation of the enmity which presently appears between the two.

But when Randolph was gone, New Hampshire was no safe place for Cranfield. He had had, he says, to hire twenty men to guard his house there, and when the strong man left²³ for England he deserted his province for the comparative security of Boston. Writing thence on 19th June 1683,²⁴ he still professes great amity for Randolph, and also for his brother Bernard, of the insults offered to whom he is witness. It was only when the elder brother returned to New England that he ventured back to New Hampshire. In the meantime he had been acting²⁵ in the interminable Narragansett dispute, on a commission of which Randolph was also a member. Cranfield's chief idea therein seems to have been to extract bribes for himself and Blathwayt, and his next to do the Rhode Islanders as ill a turn as possible. A curious commentary on the Charter proceedings is furnished by his congratulations on the surrender to Charles II. of the Charter of the City of London, which he evidently considers an exact parallel to the proposed suppression of that of Massachusetts; but all his cry is for Randolph, without whose presence he dares not return to his own government.

By 15th November, 1683, he was back again, and found
that

(presumably in drink); he also sends
two loaves of refined sugar to the Duke
of Shrewsbury.

²³ *Supra*, Vol. I. p. 185.

²⁴ Letter XXVI.

²⁵ There is a lucid account of this dispute and some sort of decision thereon in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685, no. 1234. Cf. *supra*, Vol. I. p. 372.

that his enemies had availed themselves of his absence to circulate a report that he had been sent a prisoner to England. His hatred of Randolph leaks out again in his repetition of the slanderous statement that he had been bribed to advance the interest of one Wyer, a "discontented assemblyman,"²⁶ at Whitehall, but incidentally he gives particulars of the disgraceful and unmanly persecutions to which Mrs. Randolph and her daughters²⁷ were subjected.

Having proved himself an absolutely incompetent administrator, and involved himself in serious trouble by his premature confiscation of Gove's estate, Cranfield had the audacity to put himself forward as a candidate for the Governorship of Massachusetts, and when Randolph very properly opposed the appointment, Cranfield broke with him altogether. On 16th October, 1684, he writes²⁸ to Blathwayt asking for his countenance in justifying his conduct to the Lords of Trade, and adding "Mr. Randolph has a letter of Attorney from me but I have very good reasons to bar his acting in any respect for me which shall be communicated to you hereafter."

Whatever the reasons were, they certainly did not commend themselves to Sir Robert Southwell, to whom, of all people, Cranfield betook himself with his complaints.²⁹ It appears from an interesting private letter, here published, that the Ex-Governor fastened upon Southwell on a casual visit to Bristol (6th January, 1686), and bemoaned his wrongs to him, receiving as his only consolation the assurance that he had got what he asked for, and that it was his own fault if

²⁶ Letter XXIX.

²⁷ Letter XXX.

²⁸ Letter XXXIV.

²⁹ Letter XXXVIII.

if he had "caught a Tartar." Southwell thinks he may find a sympathetic hearer in Sir John Knight, a turbulent Bristol politician of the time. But with this letter, Cranfield passes out of the field of our survey. My Lords took pity upon his "thin constitution"⁴⁰ and sent him to Barbadoes,⁴¹ where he seems to have remained many years. He was a weak and consequently irritable and rather cruel man, who hated Randolph as stronger than himself.⁴²

The second⁴³ of Randolph's letters to Blathwayt in this volume was written just before that journey to England which left Cranfield in such difficulties, and gives a very brief and even contemptuous account of the petty affair of Edward Gove — exaggerated into a "rebellion" by the timorous Governor; Cranfield, it appears, would, if he had dared, have actually executed⁴⁴ Gove upon the spot. But Randolph treats the whole affair as trifling. Cranfield's account⁴⁵ is that Gove "gave out that he had a sword by his side and would not lay it down till he had the Government in his hands." Soberer of judgment and knowing the people better, Randolph probably gives the correct account: "they would know who was Governor before they laid down their

⁴⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 616.

⁴¹ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. 1252, etc. There are several letters from him when in Barbadoes, among the Blathwayt papers.

⁴² It is difficult to find any information as to Cranfield's birth and breeding. He was probably of the family of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and boasted to Southwell that his grand-

father had been one of the discoverers of the Gunpowder Plot. In Vol. I. note 279, *supra*, he is spoken of as known in Bristol for a "very base Tory." But there is no mention of the name in the published records of that city.

⁴³ Letter XXII.

⁴⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1683, no. 952.

⁴⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1683, no. 906.

their arms." The remainder of Gove's story, and that of his release through Randolph's good offices, will be found fully detailed in the earlier volumes of this work. We need only note that the last words of this letter contain one of the phrases which rightly or wrongly helped the writer to his evil reputation in New England: "I shall be well furnished with new matter enough against this Government enough to do their business without taking note of former miscarriages."

After an interval of some months ⁴⁴, there follows a single letter written from on board the ship "Golden Rose," a prize taken from the Algerines, and commanded by William Phips, afterwards notorious as Governor of Massachusetts. Phips was commissioned to dredge for the treasure sunk in a Spanish ship near the Bahamas, and to proceed thither by way of Boston to fetch his "diving-tubs." For some reason his honesty seems to have been suspected both in England and at Boston. Randolph had a long and tedious voyage with him to New England, where, however, he only remained for a few weeks. During this period, with his customary activity, he found time to distribute many copies of the King's "Declaration", and also to quarrel with Cranfield. He returned to England on 14th February, 1684, and was detained there for two years and more.

This period is pretty fully accounted for by the documents published in the preceding volumes; but one episode is not there touched on, which illustrates Randolph's character as a born exciseman. He had somehow received information that

⁴⁴ Letter XXVII.

that there were New England ships trading direct (and therefore in contravention of the Acts) with Dutch ports, and though his presence was constantly required before the Lords of Trade at the time, he contrived to get an order⁴⁷ from the Commissioners of the Customs, backed by Lord Middleton, to pursue and confiscate the offending vessels. His quest seems to have been unsuccessful, and he expresses himself with some contempt as to the whole affair. "God send me,"⁴⁸ he says, "once again well to New England, and let who will go a-fishing for prizes among the Hollanders in their own ports with a small vessell." But it is quite clear from the terms of his "Instructions" that the office was of his own seeking.

There follow one or two letters written from Deal.⁴⁹ For no less than two months the new Secretary for New England was kept there, eager to be in the fray again, and with his writs burning holes in his pockets. He is not yet rid of Cranfield, whom⁵⁰ he speaks of as now returned to England and endeavouring to ruin him by false accusations of bribery. Whatever these were (and we can conjecture pretty well what they were), they met with no countenance from My Lords, and at last, on 20th January, 1686, the Secretary set sail in the Rose frigate, commanded by Captain George, whom his passenger speaks of as a "very civill person." The frigate and her captain became afterwards somewhat notorious, and this is probably the last time that George was ever described as a "very civill person."

With

⁴⁷ Numbers XXXII, XXXIII.

⁴⁸ Letter XXXVII. (to Philip Mus-

⁴⁹ Letter XXXI. (to Povey).

⁵⁰ grave).

⁴⁸ Letter XXXVI.



With Randolph's arrival in New England on 14th May, 1686, begins the long series of despatches of a half-private character which give such importance to this collection of documents. Some addressed to Blathwayt himself, some (and those hardly less confidential) to his subordinate Povey, they hardly ever repeat or traverse the same ground with the public communications to the Lords of Trade. They are interior documents, and have all the value of truth. At the present day they would be "confidential communications," which it would not be for the public interest to divulge.⁵¹ Here we have them as they were written down by an acute observer and an honest man — as honesty went in those days — speaking to a man he believed to be his friend, and their value for historical purposes can hardly be over-estimated.

Randolph descended on New England with, as he might well suppose, the whole might of Old England at his back. He had documents in his possession enabling him to supersede every existing authority and to appoint an interim President and a New Council, who had been carefully chosen from among those who were accounted well affected to the Royal prerogative. He writes down for us the record of his failure. He had with him the nomination of Joseph Dudley as President, and of some thirty members of Council. Dudley accepted the Commission readily enough, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, and then Randolph made

sure

⁵¹ Yet Randolph was most careless as to leaving his draft letters about; and the case of Chidley Brooke (Letters CXXIII. and CXXIV.) shews how much mischief might be done in such cases where the facts were perfectly correct.

sure of the support of the other nominees. "We this day meet," he writes on 17th May,⁵² only three days after his arrival, "to convene the other Government, and in a few days shall obtain a good issue." Mafon, who was anxious to sail for England, was detained to assist with his countenance and advice.

In the space of a single month, Randolph was brought to recognize his failure. His first disappointment was in respect of Connecticut; on 17th May he had written to Treat, the Governor there, in his most persuasive style, advising him to surrender the Charter of that colony without further ado, in view of the coming of a Governor General of the New England colonies. Treat simply sent the letter⁵³ on to Dongan, then Governor of New York, with the cool remark that it was a private one. Randolph was greatly dashed; and a few days after, we find him writing to Blathwayt in terms of deep despondency: "We have got the Government of this country in our hands and that's all."⁵⁴ There was indeed not much that he could call a Government: of the nominated members of council only fourteen attended the first meeting, and fewer still appeared afterwards. Saltonstall simply refused to come; "Champernoon" said he was too ill; "Old Mr. Bradstreet" and his son flatly declined to accept the Commission "as a thing contrived to abridge them of their liberties and indeed against Magna Charta." Of the members of Council who did attend, one at least must be reckoned among the disaffected. Richard Wharton

⁵² Letter XXXIX.

the *New York Colonial Documents*,

⁵³ The correspondence is printed in Vol. III.

⁵⁴ Letter XLII.

Wharton was angered at not being made Registrar, and opposed the appointment of Bulkley as commandant of the castle — a post which it appears was ultimately conferred on Wait Winthrop. Randolph was afraid to speak among his own nominees. "I have not opened my mouth," he says,⁶⁶ "about the province of Maine" (in which Wharton had large interests) "lest that would raise a mutiny, for several of the old Magistrates and Deputies have cut themselves out large Dividends and disinherited many who were in possession upon antient titles before the Indian wars: and the people are strongly possessed of bringing in Popery: and a little matter at my first coming would spoil all."

He was quite right: he had no hearty supporters. Bulkley and Stoughton had been the agents of Massachusetts in England during the disputes of 1676-9; and though Randolph, for a wonder, speaks well of them, describing Bulkley as an honest man "whose heart⁶⁶ is almost broak to see the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay still in power," yet he must have known that neither of them loved the new régime. Stoughton, indeed, had good reason to dislike it; he is said to have owned large tracts of land with defective titles, which made him dread the establishment of a regular judicature. But even Dudley was never Randolph's friend after the first month or two; and in the single letter⁶⁷ from him here preserved he speaks of Randolph with a cold respect very different from the vehement feeling which Randolph displays with regard to himself. With the single exception of John Usher, we may safely

⁶⁶ Letter XL.

⁶⁶ Letter XLII. (postscript).

⁶⁷ Letter L.



safely say that the new Secretary had no friend in New England; and it is no wonder that he began to long for the coming of the new Governor-General.

In addition to his public anxieties, he was beset by personal and pecuniary troubles. His exaggerated views of New England wealth, as he had given them in his all too famous Report,⁶⁸ had undergone a change. "I can never say too often that this is a very poor place, and tho' we talk largely of thousands and ten thousand acres of land, yet tis very hard to get £100 paid even by the great proprietors." And now also arose grievances with respect to the Record-ership. Randolph had expected great fees from this, and in order to inspire confidence in the men of Massachusetts as to the safety of their documents deposited with him, he had hired a great brick house at a rental⁶⁹ of £60 a year, a large sum for the times, even in depreciated colonial currency. But the records never came. The colonists, alert as usual for the interests of their sons and nephews as against the intruder, contrived that all wills, mortgages, and records of sales should be deposited with the clerks of the County Courts. Nothing was left for the poor representative of the Crown but "country documents which are of more trouble than profit." "The beneficial perquisites of my office," says he, "are alienated." Dudley even claimed the authority of a Diocesan ordinary⁷⁰ in probate of wills,

"virtute

⁶⁸ *Supra*, Vol. II. p. 225.

⁶⁹ Letter XLIII. (to Povey).

⁷⁰ It should be explained that in England, down to the year 1858, the probate and custody of wills was entirely a

matter for the courts ecclesiastical, "ordinary" being the technical name for the bishop or any official exercising episcopal functions "sede vacante." Even now wills proved out of London are

“virtute officii.” Yet Wharton envied Randolph the post, and “drives hard at me because he was not made Register.”⁶¹ And it is to be noted that the acute West afterwards made this an office of considerable emolument.

A passage which goes far to justify Randolph’s evil reputation occurs in his letter of 29th May,⁶² addressed to Blathwayt. It runs as follows: “I have likewise been forward to come at the Quo Warranto against Rhode Island and Connecticut Colony least they should combine and stand out: but I shall have tyme to go to those parts and must do what I can by perswasion for the writs were by my tedious voyage out of date fifteen days befor I arived. I treat them at a distance with professions of great friendship: and the sight of the frigott may operate more than a loyall summons.” It is possible of course that he did not conceal the fact of the writs being, to use his own word, “superannuated,” and simply served them for what they were worth; but we are almost compelled to believe that he employed documents of no legal validity in the hope that colonial ignorance would not detect the fraud. Of his “perswasion” we have an example in the friendly and even jocose letter which he sent to Treat on 27th May;⁶³ and in that letter he certainly implies that the writs were valid, for he says “Bles not yourselves by vain expectation of advantage and spinning out of time by my delay. I will engage that though the weather be warm the writs will keep sound and good as when first landed.”

are kept in the ecclesiastical registries of the various dioceses. For Andros’s action in the matter, see Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I. p. 320.

⁶¹ Letter XLII.

⁶² Letter XL.

⁶³ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 796.

landed." But Treat was a match for Randolph in duplicity; he again sent⁶⁴ this letter on to Dongan, who was now moving heaven and earth to get Connecticut united to New York, and might therefore prove a useful ally against any future Governor General of New England. After this unedifying exhibition of sharp practice, it is refreshing to find Randolph working hard⁶⁵ to despatch for Mr. Secretary Pepys the invaluable mast^s on which the welfare of the navy so much depended.

Presently he started with his superannuated writs. On 19th June he is already talking of a "very warm journey" for the reduction⁶⁶ of Rhode Island and Connecticut. His account of the behaviour of these colonies is very naïve. He never seems to have thought it possible that there could be any diplomacy except his own, which was of a rather uncouth type, not far removed from bullying. "Last night," he writes on 27th June to John Povey, "I returned with the President from the Narragansett country, where on Wednesday last his Majesty's Commission of Gov^t was published in Court. The Deputy Gov^t of Rhode Island and one of their magistrates were present, and I expect no further claim to be made by them to that country." They had promised, he says, to surrender their charter, but while he was away at Narragansett they took counsel, and on his

return

⁶⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 751. The letter shows that Treat considered the writs of small importance.

⁶⁵ According to Bellomont, however (*Treasury Papers*, Vol. LXIII. no. 29),

neither Randolph nor his successor Brenton ever did "six pennyworth of service" for their fifty pounds a year as surveyors of timber.

⁶⁶ Letter XLII.

return "desired a fortnight's tyme to consider of it and would answer me from their General Court;" and when he spoke of 1000 acres of land granted to the Earl of Clarendon, they put it off, "and if needs be will give it in the Warwick township," apparently an undesirable locality. Similarly a few days later at Hartford: "I find them very indifferent⁶⁷ whether they surrender their charge or suffer his Majesty to take it by process at law."

Treat was all the time in communication with Dongan, who was eager to annex Connecticut before the expected union of the New England colonies should take place. He had even been negotiating with Rhode Island, in spite of its being separated from him by the other colony. But with Connecticut he had naturally more influence, and though there is no proof that the "Quaker Grandees" generally were abetting him, Treat was certainly on his side. He writes to Dongan under date of 19th June (when he sent Randolph's "private" letter), "we know not of any calamity to the northeast if Connecticut Colony must fall and part of it to Westward; but it may be as easy for us to fall that way as Eastward." He is apparently referring to a possible separation of Hartford and New Haven, which was surely no longer possible.⁶⁸ But Dongan was using means not unknown in European politics to force an annexation: a

tax

⁶⁷ This indifference was probably genuine. Compare the acute remarks of Mr. H. Ferguson in the lecture on Sir Edmund Andros quoted above. There was in Connecticut neither an oligarchy nor an ecclesiastical difficulty, as in Massachusetts.

⁶⁸ This very important letter is printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*. It also exists in an almost illegible copy in the English Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 729.

tax of six per cent was levied by New York on all goods exported to Massachusetts; and if Connecticut, by fear of a like imposition, were driven to enter the New York Zollverein, "we should," says Randolph,⁶⁰ "be in danger of starving;" and his allegation is supported by Dudley, who in his letter of 31st July, speaks most forcibly on the subject.⁷⁰ As to Rhode Island, "they are a sad set of mortalls as ever you heard of, and who knows but [in] reveng upon our colony may if in their power subject themselves to that Government, which will perfectly ruin us all, for wee have most part of our flesh from thence," corn coming chiefly from Connecticut.

The finances of Massachusetts were already at a sufficiently low ebb without further complications. "I feare," says Randolph,⁷¹ very soon after his arrival, "the treasury of the country is departed with the old magistrates." The colonial mint had been closed partly on the ground that it had been used⁷² to coin stolen plate into specie for pirates, and, in accordance with Gresham's Law, bad money was speedily driving out good; "their money is euery day shipd off for England or other countreys so that tis a hard matter to gett £100 in siluer."⁷³ A few months after: "the country is very poor, and are fatally declining and I can see no way how it may be repaired; our shopkeepers break every day, and I believe should the merchants of England be earnest for their debts not twenty shops would long be open in Boston."

In

⁶⁰ Letter XLIII.

⁷⁰ Letter L.

⁷¹ Letter XL.

⁷² *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 280.

⁷³ Letter XL.

In matters of religion Randolph complains that his services have gone unrequited. Before the end of June he is already querulous about the ingratitude⁷⁴ of the colonists: "neither have they given me thankes for procuring them their liberty in Matters of religion." It is difficult to know what he alludes to, unless it be his remonstrance with Hinckley on behalf of the Quakers.⁷⁵ With regard to the "Congregationalls," he certainly shews no great liberality. But in one respect his views as to "phannaticks" seem to have been justified. He suspected that some of the immigrants of the time, who were nominally exiles for conscience' sake, were really adherents of the Duke of Monmouth, who had many sympathizers⁷⁶ in New England, and his suggestion that all newcomers should be compelled to take the oath of allegiance seems⁷⁷ a reasonable one. As to Dudley, he considers him hopeless: "he would admit of the Great Turk for advantage," and his neglect of worthy sober Mr. Radcliffe weighed upon Randolph's mind. Radcliffe had come in with the new Government, and that Government had,⁷⁸ in its very first report to the Lords of Trade, promised to support him. Yet now he was left dependent upon "twelve or fourteen gentlemen who are his hearers for a maintenance, and expect the charge will make us give over." In plain English, in spite of the plausible excuses

⁷⁴ Letter XLIII.

⁷⁵ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 87.

⁷⁶ Introduction to *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-1688. Monmouth did not land at Lyme till 11th June, 1685. Yet on 26th April, it was already noised in New Hampshire

that he was King. Cf. Despatch of Cranfield of that date, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685, no. 183.

⁷⁷ Letter XLVII.

⁷⁸ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 82.

excuses of the Government, worthy sober Mr. Radcliffe was in process of being starved out. £50 a year paid in New England money is stated as the utmost amount⁷⁹ of his salary; and this was paid chiefly by gentlemen from Virginia and the Chesapeake, who came to New England for the summer to avoid the unhealthy season in the South. Besides registration of immigrants, Randolph suggested the licensing of all preachers by the Bishop of London, the titular diocesan⁸⁰ of America, with whom he was in correspondence as to Church matters.

It was long before the Secretary's horizon began to clear. Dudley, he complains, had proved but a broken reed to lean upon; and the arrival of his "frigott," from which he had hoped so much, only brought him fresh trouble. George, the commander, seems to have been a bad specimen of the bad class of officers which the Government of the day thought good enough for American waters. He was at best a coarse swaggering bully, if not a poltroon;⁸¹ and he was no sooner arrived than he began to quarrel with Randolph over the rewards for seizures of "interlopers." To these the Secretary, as being also Collector of Customs, laid claim. George retorted that he was acting Admiral on the Station and therefore entitled to them. No doubt there was a show of right on both sides; but one's sympathies are with Randolph when one finds persons not likely to exaggerate for his benefit, like Wharton and Dudley, representing the insults and threats of personal violence to which he was exposed. George even propagated libels of the vilest character

⁷⁹ Letter XLIX.

⁸⁰ Letter XLVII.

⁸¹ Letter LXXXI.

character against Mrs. Randolph,⁸² and her husband in despair had to send her away to England, taking with her a fawn as a present to Blathwayt's newly-married wife. She seems to have been kindly received at Dyrham, and Randolph shewed his gratitude by small presents of acorns,⁸³ chestnuts and walnuts, and also twelve small plants of the locust tree. It was probably all he could afford, for the voracious George was presently joined by one Saint Loe, Captain of the Dartmouth, a brave officer enough, but a swashbuckler who had picked quarrels all over the West Indies,⁸⁴ and this precious pair succeeded in abridging the perquisites of the poor Secretary till they amounted to little or nothing. Saint Loe's character is evident from the State Papers; and George was the Commander who afterwards, on the announcement of the Revolution, surrendered his ship, without striking a blow, to a mob of landsmen. That Dudley supported these two, as Randolph insists,⁸⁵ is unlikely.

The only hope of the much-harassed Secretary lay in the arrival of Andros. He has no longer, in the autumn of 1686, a word of praise for any one but John Usher, who is accounted a public enemy for informing against Moody and Allen. But with the end of the year the new Governor-General came. The accounts of his arrival, and of the proceedings during the first few months of his government, are singularly jejune. Neither the documents printed above nor the State Papers give much information. Randolph's account

⁸² *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 93, and Letter XLVII.

⁸³ Letter LV.

⁸⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. I, III.

⁸⁵ Letter LIII.

account is naturally optimistic. Andros, he says,⁸⁶ was received at his landing "with the Huzzaes of an innumerable company of people placed by the water-side." "Placed" is perhaps an unfortunate word, and suggests wire-pulling. But the accounts we have justify us in believing that Andros's entry was really an impressive sight, and greatly imposed upon at least the populace. For the functionaries who had so long been their own auditors, the prospect was not comfortable. All accounts of public moneys were henceforth to be examined, and this was particularly displeasing to Danforth, titular Governor of Maine, which he seems to have treated as an independent command. Plainly neither Randolph as Secretary, nor Dudley as Governor, had thus far had enough authority to demand accounts from the council's own servants. Furthermore, a writ of Quo Warranto (and this time a valid one) was at once despatched to Connecticut; and now, says Randolph, "we think to catch the sturgeon."⁸⁷

Yet in February, 1687, the sturgeon was still at large, and, as became a royal perquisite,⁸⁸ refusing to be landed till the King's pleasure should be known. And Andros himself had his hands too full for such fishing. He had to insist that all records should really be deposited with Randolph, and was further occupied with making regulations (and excellent ones⁸⁹) for the inspection of food-stuffs intended for the West Indies. Only it was difficult to get money to carry out any

⁸⁶ Letter LVI.

⁸⁷ Letter LVI.

⁸⁸ Randolph is no doubt alluding to the ancient custom according to which "Whale and sturgeon were royal fish

when either caught near the land or thrown ashore." Stephen, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol. I.

pp. 81, 554.

⁸⁹ Letter LVII.

any measures at all. To begin with, "our people think it hard to have money raised without an Assembly, forgetting t 'was their Ministers who formerly chose both their Magistrates and Deputyes of their Gen^l Courts :" ⁹⁰ Then again the merchants wanted a land tax, and the land owners a tax on merchandise ; and between the two little was done. Randolph found his own office so little profitable that he disposed of it to West. The transaction is somewhat mysterious : it is affirmed that Randolph surrendered his posts, including that of Clerk of Council, at the urgent request of Andros.⁹¹ If so, the Governor did him but an ill turn ; for he undoubtedly lost by the bargain. The Council itself was not an easy body to manage. Out of twenty-six members only three were Churchmen ; and none but Dudley, Stoughton, and Bulkley were capable of exercising judicial functions when the difficult question of titles to lands purchased from Indians arose ; and even of these three, the two first were not impartial, themselves holding large tracts of such lands.

The story of the cession or partial cession of the South Church at Boston for Anglican worship, and the unedifying squabbles resulting therefrom, has been fully given in the second volume of these Memoirs. It will be sufficient here to quote Randolph's view of the transaction, given with a breezy optimism which was belied by events. "The mighty feares and jealousies arising⁹² about Church affaires are all abated

⁹⁰ Letter LVII.

⁹¹ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 155. Cf. the "Narrative" in the *Andros Tracts*, p. 153 : John West, his deputy, "who by the exceeding importunity of Sir

Edmund Andros hired his place of him," and *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 168.

⁹² Letter LVIII. As to the chapel, cf. *supra*, Vol. II. p. 78.

abated — and now the most opposite offer his Excellence the use of a Church in Boston. I question not but they will find a way to build us a Church sooner then wee shall gett a settled maintenance for our Minister." The Church in question was afterwards built, and to its continued existence "young Mr. Mather" attributed the failure of Phips's expedition to the St. Lawrence in 1690. But Randolph claims for himself the glory of planting the Church of England in this howling wilderness.

Of another questionable transaction — the revolution in the government of Harvard College — we have here Randolph's own version. Andros had called to account the managers of the College's revenues, and it was alleged that there had been malversation. While Randolph was away in the South, says he, serving ineffectual writs, Dudley and Mather had conspired²³ together — elsewhere he implicates Stoughton also — to call in all moneys belonging to the College, almost £1200 in all, and to invest them in their own names ; they altered the constitution of the College from that of President and Fellows to that of Rector and Tutors, appointing Increase Mather Rector ; and they established exhibitions which they conferred on Dudley's son and other relations of his. The two latter statements are borne out by documents,²⁴ and such acts do not seem to have been *ultra vires* ; but the first seems, if correct, to point to an irregular transaction. It may have been what is now a very ordinary operation — the transference of trust funds into the names of trustees ; but

²³ Letter LXVIII.

²⁴ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 95, and *Calen-*

dar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1686, no. 888.

but if the College was a corporation it was unnecessary, and likely to arouse suspicion.

Of Andros's journey to Connecticut, on which he started 26th October, 1687, Randolph gives⁹⁵ a very lively description. He and many others believed, and probably with reason, that unification was absolutely necessary. Had Dongan succeeded in persuading Rhode Island and Connecticut to place themselves under his government, and had he also established the claim of New York to Eastern Maine, he could by hostile tariffs have starved out Massachusetts. Again, had the Revolution not intervened, and had the union of the provinces, including New York and the Jerseys, been effected, it would have been worth while for a statesman of the first rank—a real Viceroy—to undertake the Government; and under him the Randolphs and Dudleys would soon have found their level. But the small and unprofitable governments of America and the West Indies offered no inducements to men of light and leading, and bullies and plunderers formed the majority of the colonial governors, whether indigenous or imported.

Of the many true charges against James II.,⁹⁶ that of colonial mismanagement can certainly not be reckoned one. Godolphin and Coventry, Blathwayt and Pepys, were not men to kill the sheep to get the wool. They were fully aware of the tariff war between New York and New England, and the remedy which seemed to them most feasible was

⁹⁵ Letter LXV.

⁹⁶ It had been the original intention of William III. also to carry out the unification of the provinces (*Calendar*

of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689, no. 75), but the activity of Mather and others prevented the fulfilment of his scheme.

was the suppression of local differences by the constitution of one united colony. But Andros did not act in a conciliatory manner. Randolph's own account of his proceedings suggests tyranny. "All their Deputyes," he writes⁷⁷ of Hartford, "were very busy in town and were present but he would not give them leave to debat or aske questions, but fwoere their Governor and Captain Allen of the Councill, and dissolved their meeting." Of the legendary spiriting away of the charter not a word is said, and that the whole proceeding so far was considered as directed against the pretensions of New York seems likely from Randolph's remark immediately following. Dongan, he says, "has so squeezed the people⁷⁸ of New York that they are very hardly able to live and as many as can leave the place; some come hither [to Boston] who are not very grateful; others are turned planters in Iarsye and very few English left."

There follows the remarkable letter to Sir Nicholas Butler⁷⁹ referred to above. The gist of it is that, as Randolph elsewhere repeatedly alleges, the fund for the evangelization of the Indians is being misapplied, and he suggests the appointment of a commission, of course including Mason and himself, to superintend its distribution. The French priests are very active among the Indians, and by their ornate ritual are attracting not only to their church but to the French allegiance the whole of the red men. The remedy he suggests is to encounter the enemy with his own weapons, and to apply the fund mentioned to the maintenance of Romanist missionaries in the English interest, to be sent out by

⁷⁷ Letter LXV.⁷⁸ Letter LXV.⁷⁹ Letter LXVIII.

by the King. Furthermore, "upon my coming to England I shall discover to your Hon^t lands enough to maintain a small convent without any charge to the Crown. Mr. Gibbon a Benedictine is my brother¹⁰⁰ and was willing to come over and settle here; but I could not give him that Encouragement I have now very lately discovered." Evidently the fashionable Romanism had made its influence felt across the Atlantic. And yet Randolph's motive was probably patriotic; he was an Englishman before all things — secondly an exciseman; and in the same letter he gives an account of his rescuing for the King from the hands of plunderers the cargo of a Spanish ship valued at £10,274. His narrative is straightforward and simple; but it is plain that he took his life in his hand when he acted. The longshoremen of Rhode Island were not likely to shew much respect for King's collectors when flotsam and jetsam were in question.

Then follows the annexation of New York — for it was no less — sorely against the will of poor Dongan, who had been a capable administrator and had held his own well against¹⁰¹ French and Indians. His application to Massachusetts for assistance,¹⁰² that thrifty community had answered by referring him to the Southern colonies; but from Andros he had received very loyal¹⁰³ support, requited according to Randolph with abuse and railing.¹⁰⁴ We may, however, make some allowance for the very natural soreness of a dismissed servant, and perhaps forgive him for endeavouring

¹⁰⁰ He was really a brother-in-law. Cf. the pedigree, *supra*, Vol. I.

¹⁰¹ Randolph calls him with reason "a great officer" in his letter to Hayes of 6th January, 1689 (LXXXII.).

¹⁰² Letter LXXI.

¹⁰³ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, nos. 1548 I, II, and 1684.

¹⁰⁴ Letter LXXIV.

ouring to repair his fortunes by large claims ¹⁰⁵ for war expenditure, which must in any case have been considerable.

Accompanying Andros to New York, Randolph visited — merely for pleasure he says — Philadelphia, which he describes as a dilapidated settlement, and then followed the Governor up the river to Fort Albany, where took place a meeting with Indian chiefs, of which he gives an interesting account in a letter to Sir James Hayes of the Hudson Bay Company.¹⁰⁶ On the way to Albany died poor Mason, broken hearted for lack of quit-rents; and Randolph himself was much exercised for like reasons; for West had got himself appointed "Naval officer" at Boston, thus securing another slice of the fees properly due to the Collector of Customs, and had also procured that all administrations of estates of over £50 a year should be transferred from New York to Boston. Thither also were sent all the records; and though this may well have been part of Andros's scheme of unification, it aroused immense discontent. The birth of a Prince of Wales, Randolph notes, was celebrated¹⁰⁷ by all New York — even the Baptists — excepting of course the evil-affected "Congregationals."

In October, 1688, while William of Orange was waiting for his "Protestant wind," and James II. was consummating the follies of his brief reign by the final and irretrievable alienation of the Church of his fathers, Andros and his retinue were back in Boston, sorely troubled about the Indian advances in Maine. For some reason or other the Governor's authority had declined. George, the captain of the solitary frigate

¹⁰⁵ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 281.
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¹⁰⁶ Letter LXXXII.

¹⁰⁷ Letter LXXV.

frigate still rotting in Boston Harbour, refused, as we shall presently see, to obey his orders. "The people," says Randolph, "charged him with wanting to bring the French upon them :" ¹⁰⁸ and there were also subtler influences at work, as in the case of Monmouth's Rebellion, noticed above. Randolph himself, in a published letter ¹⁰⁹ of the time, recalls how Dr. Morton, eighteen months before, had prophesied Revolution and the return of the "antient magistrates." Even in April, 1688, he complains that the people care nothing for the Governor's patents. One Justice of the Peace was so stout as to give costs against a tenant for a trespass done on his own land (presumably granted under such a patent), "and the old fashion," says Randolph, "grows every day."

Then follows silence; from 8th November till June of the following year there is not a single letter to Blathwayt preserved. That excellent man of business had found his account with the new as with the old government, and may possibly have destroyed letters which might prejudice him with his new masters. Certainly we look in vain for any particulars of the Revolution in Massachusetts from Randolph. His letters written during his captivity, though exceedingly full and interesting, contain no new facts as to the surrender of the town or the circumstances of the prisoners. Their entire interest lies in the indictment — severe and it must be confessed well-deserved — of the ineptitude of the provisional government as displayed in the conduct of the Indian War. Randolph gives us a circumstantial account of the origin ¹¹⁰ of the outbreak, which was caused by the usual combination

of

¹⁰⁸ Letter LXXIX.

¹⁰⁹ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 306.

¹¹⁰ Letter LXXXI.

of overbearing aggression and contemptible weakness on the part of the colonists, who by their foolish action played directly into the hands of the French. They were totally unable to defend themselves against the Indians whom they had needlessly irritated, and if Randolph is to be believed, not a single one¹¹¹ of their number would accept the command of their own troops, Andros himself reluctantly assuming the office at last. His dispositions, as might be expected from the professional soldier, were speedy and excellent: he had despatched regular officers to all the threatened points, but at the instigation of the revolutionary government they were seized and made prisoners by their own troops—a proceeding which left the colonists at the mercy of the French enemy, who were fortunately in no condition to take advantage of their opportunity. The wretched George refused to sail¹¹² to the help of the distressed people of Maine, on the ground that his ship, which had been in harbour for two years, needed repairs.

The regular officers being thus disposed of, the Government had recourse, says Randolph, to desperate measures to raise men and money. “They have to press men,¹¹³ and see no way how they shall be paid, some having been abroad the whole last winter without one penny for their service. The captains in Boston press good housekeepers of whom they have £4 £5 and £6 a man to provide a man for them: the money being received they press any poor man and give him 20/— or if he will not go they will get £4 of him before he comes out of goal.” This account of the general condition

¹¹¹ Letter LXXXI.

¹¹² Letter LXXXI.

¹¹³ Letter LXXXIV.

tion of affairs is corroborated by the memorials¹¹⁴ to the Crown of colonists opposed to the revolutionary government. One of the worst misdemeanours of that body was their waste of the powder on which the safety of all the English settlements so much depended. Leisler, of New York, at the urgent request of the Mayor of Albany, sends to Bradstreet for a supply, and receives for answer that they have but eight barrels of it at Boston, whereas Randolph declares that Andros had provided 200 barrels. A lavish use of gunpowder seems to have been a prominent feature in revolutionary rejoicings.¹¹⁵

The state of trade and of the Royal revenue must have made the prisoner's heart ache. The Government had neither the will nor the power to exact payment of legal dues: "Hill, Bradstreet's officer, seized upon a Barrell Brandee;¹¹⁶ the owner, an inhabitant, told Bradstreet if he did not order the delivery of it to him he would bring 100 men and put him out of his Government." It is the common fault of revolutionary governments to seek to purchase favour by laxity; and according to Randolph, those of New England were no better than others: "At the tyme of their Rebellion they let fall the Customs and Excise hoping thereby to draw the trading men to comply and to submit to their easy yoake," and afterwards endeavoured to revive them, raising in addition heavy rates, out of which however they would not pay a penny towards the expense of Andros's preparations

¹¹⁴ For example, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1690*, nos. 740-743, 884, 1390, 1393, and especially nos. 1418, 1439.

¹¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689*, no. 163.

¹¹⁶ Letter LXXXVII.

ations against the Indians, "nor to the souldiers abroad with him because they were raised by an unlawful authority."

Randolph seems to have been kept, after the manner of the times, in very loose custody, and he was able to collect publications of interest which appeared in New England and to forward them to Blathwayt, who communicated them to the Lords of Trade, keeping the letters which accompanied them to himself. The enclosures therefore are preserved at the Record Office, and they include a very remarkable and incriminating letter from Gould and Fitch¹¹⁷ of Connecticut to Leisler, the leader of the New York revolutionaries. Another enclosure, an "Address to the Princess Mary of Orange in Holland," is published in the *Andros Tracts*.¹¹⁸ Besides these, Randolph succeeded in possessing himself of a valuable map drawn by Macgregor,¹¹⁹ who had formerly been in the French service, which delineated "all the land and lakes where the five nations of the Indians above Albany are settled with all the French fforts made in that country from Quebec to the Great River running into the Gulf of Florida;" and though he can no longer personally interfere in the seizure of vessels, he takes delight in registering the proceedings of "Pyrats" and interlopers,¹²⁰ and in chronicling such small signs of republicanism as the removal of W. R. from the constable's staffs (which were formidable weapons¹²¹ seven feet long) and the substitution of the figure of an Indian for the royal initials.¹²²

In

¹¹⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 288.

¹¹⁸ *Supra*, Vol. II. p. 163.

¹¹⁹ Letter LXXXVI, and cf. Randolph's letter to Hayes (LXXXII.).

¹²⁰ Letter XCII.

¹²¹ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 2155.

¹²² Letter XCVI.

In July, 1689, long before the actual return of the prisoners to England, we find a curious report,¹²³ which proves how well-known Randolph had become, to the effect that the Secretary of New England had been landed at Penzance with five companions by a New England vessel. The rumour of course proved a false one, and it was not till the spring of 1690 that the captives were sent back, being detained, says Randolph,¹²⁴ till the colonists could "send their Agents with an addressee to his Majesty in the least which 't is said they will dispatch before they send us aboard: to the end they may form charges out of collections of Depositions they have taken against us, and be fully instructed how to proceed before our arrivall." This was done, but the only result was the formulating of the famous accusations which no one¹²⁵ could venture to subscribe, and which, so far as concerned the charge against Andros of fomenting war with the Indians, recoiled completely¹²⁶ on the heads of their authors.

It was not till the end of February, 1690, that the exiles at length set foot on English earth, and Randolph dates his first letter¹²⁷ from Plymouth, remarking that he parted some days before from Andros and his kinsman Treffry. But for many weeks there is no indication in the Government records of their

¹²³ Letter LXXXV.

¹²⁴ Letter XCVIII.

¹²⁵ A similar charge had been brought against Andros in his administration of New York, (*Andros Tracts*, Vol. I. p. XXIII.). Mr. Whitmore thus comments on the evidence: "To prove that he discountenanced making defence against the Indians, his opponents offer the testimony of certain village officials

whose affidavits prove only that Sir Edmund had probably read Shakespeare."

¹²⁶ There is unfortunately little doubt that the Boston merchants were all along supplying the Indians with ammunition. *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 277, and *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 740.

¹²⁷ Letter CII.

their presence in England. Randolph himself was probably hospitably entertained at Dyrham; for in his next letter¹²⁸ (from Waterford in Ireland) he sends special remembrances to the family there, naming them individually. Mr. Toppan is probably right in thinking that he went to Ireland on Blathwayt's business, which may have taken him to Waterford, but hardly to the siege of Limerick, where we next¹²⁹ find him, attracted no doubt, as he always was, by the prospect of wars and tumults. He here supplies us with a very remarkable contribution to history: for Kirke, he says, has hanged 700 Irish prisoners. Fortunately this fearful massacre is not mentioned by any other historian.

The circumstances under which Randolph was soon after appointed Surveyor-General of Customs in America are nowhere clearly stated.¹³⁰ He had previously made application for the post of Surveyor of Timber; but it had been already granted to Jahleel Brenton, and the petition seems¹³¹ to have been shelved. It was plainly inadvisable to send him back direct to a colony from which he had been so unceremoniously ejected, and on the other hand he deserved something better and more profitable than the congeries of

small

¹²⁸ Letter CIV. In the *State Papers, Domestic*, of 11th August, 1690, there is a warrant for Randolph to go to Bristol or Chester for Ireland.

¹²⁹ Letter CV.

¹³⁰ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. V. no. 13, 19th September, 1689. Petition of Samuel Wildgos for Randolph's office, he being in gaol "for his disaffection and Confederacy against the Gov^t." Randolph having held office under the Great Seal at £100 a year as "Collector, Surveyor

and Searcher of Customs in New England," Wildgos is to be examined as to his capacities. But we hear no more of him.

¹³¹ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 71. The reason for the shelving is given in *Treasury Papers*, Vol. XVI. no. 20, p. 203, 25th November, 1691. There was a difficulty about jurisdiction and possible clashing with Brenton's commission. Blathwayt supported Randolph.

small posts which had brought him so little advantage in New England. He therefore received the large and important commission of Surveyor of Customs on the Coasts of America. The exact title of the office matters little: it was always held to include the adjacent islands, and covered New England with the rest of the sea-board. For such duties Randolph was probably the only man whom the Government could rely on as uniting immense experience of Customs duties with an incorruptible character. He arrived in Virginia on 5th April, 1692, and on the very next day¹²³ Nicholson, then temporary governor, had his commission published¹²³ in the Assembly, supporting him heartily as he did throughout. On the 13th, Randolph wrote a tentative letter¹²⁴ to Lionel Copley, the new governor of Maryland, and the first after the suppression of Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights. He had no reason to expect from such a man, or indeed from any of the resident colonial officials, anything but the evasion of the law and the defrauding of the revenue. There was probably never a worse system of government devised than that of "proprieties," under which a few inconsiderable persons, without special qualifications for government, were permitted to sit at home and thence direct the destinies of vast colonial realms. They and their nominees in the country were alike deeply interested in earning revenue for themselves and not for the King; but whereas in the North evasion of the Acts of Trade

¹²³ Letter CVI.

¹²³ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1692*, nos. 2155, 2167.
For an excellent account of Nicholson,

see *Archives of Maryland*, Preface to

Vol. XX.

¹²⁴ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 74.

Trade and of the Customs duties was managed by the packing of juries and the subornation of witnesses, in the South violence and even murder were resorted to for the same purpose. The barbarous assassination of Christopher Rousby¹²⁵ by one of the King's own officers was fresh in men's memories when Randolph came to Virginia. The prospect was not an encouraging one.

The Royal Governors were not much better than those appointed by the proprietors, and Copley of Maryland was not a favourable example of his class. Appointed in the teeth of Lord Baltimore's¹²⁶ opposition, he was expected to allay the revolutionary ferment of which John Coode was the representative. In reality Coode seems to have been a far more respectable person than those whom Copley chose as his associates. The latter's commission contained a provision for the appropriation¹²⁷ of one-fourth of the revenue for purposes of armament and defence. This clause he succeeded in keeping secret, and was able to draw and expend the whole revenue until his death, after which the unfortunate collectors found that they were responsible to the King for large sums which they had paid to his order. Unprincipled and untrustworthy as he was, Copley actually had the effrontery

¹²⁵ For a graphic account of Rousby's murder on board H. M. S. Quaker, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1684, no. 1963. I. Colonel Talbot, the murderer, was drunk at the time, but there was deep-seated hatred of Rousby as a Customs officer at the root of his action. Talbot was never really punished for the offence. There was no ambiguity in the case

of John Payne, who was simply shot dead in the execution of his duties as Collector. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, nos. 707, 787.

¹²⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, no. 1280.

¹²⁷ Plater to Blathwayt: *post*, Letter CXXXIX.

effrontery to apply¹²⁸ to the Lords of Trade to annex Pennsylvania to his government.

It was to this man that Randolph, in his capacity of Surveyor-General, which was supplemented in the case of Maryland by a "Deputation" from Blathwayt as Auditor General, had to apply for recognition and support. Blathwayt had written to Copley in his favour,¹²⁹ and at his first visit he was consequently received with some show of respect, the Governor, who was fast drinking himself to death, making quite a confidant of him "in his cuppes," and among other things¹³⁰ expressing his opinion that Blathwayt was a "Jacobite," which seems to have been his favourite term for any one he disliked. But when it came to the registering of Randolph's "Deputation," nothing could be done. He had, on his first coming, identified himself too much with William Digges,¹³¹ a Protestant, but one of Lord Baltimore's chief supporters, and therefore not in favour with Copley. For a time, however, the Governor was hospitable enough, and lodged the new official in his own house. This peaceful state of affairs Randolph promptly disturbed by quarrelling with Nehemiah Blakiston, Copley's right-hand man. That this man was a rogue there is no shadow of a doubt; but if the Surveyor really

¹²⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1692, no. 2472.

¹²⁹ Letter CVI.

¹³⁰ Letter CVII.

¹³¹ *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 75. Digges was, according to Nicholson, a peaceable and loyal subject (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1692, no. 928); according to Coode, he was quite the opposite (no. 888). He

was suspected of complicity in the murder of Rousby (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685, nos. 136 and 281) and of Payne, but nothing was ever proved against him. Copley persecuted him, and on 20th April, 1693, he and his wife were arrested for being concerned in a "Jacobite plot" (no. 287), but discharged for lack of evidence against them (no. 643).

really wanted to serve the King in Maryland, Blakiston was the last person to quarrel with. The effects of this indiscretion were soon evident: Randolph was informed ¹⁴² that his room at the Governor's was required for Blakiston, and had to take shelter in a partially furnished house, which was however good enough for Nicholson, when visiting Maryland, to entertain the Governor and Council in at "a very plentiful breakfast."¹⁴³ We have no subsequent letter of this period written from St. Mary's. Probably the surroundings were too uncomfortable to induce prolonged residence; but in a letter of 28th June, 1692, from James Town, Randolph ¹⁴⁴ gives a vivid description of Copley's little court — of its manners and, unfortunately, of its morals.

His proper business, however, lay more in Virginia; and there the acting Governor, Nicholson, was a man of such vigour that even Randolph could find no fault with him. He had expected the Governorship, and was in a ferment ¹⁴⁵ when he heard that Andros had been appointed to supersede him. As to the collectors, they were poor creatures, touting for merchants to unload within their jurisdictions, like London watermen contending for passengers on the Thames. "Next oars!" says Randolph,¹⁴⁶ was their cry. Some of them lived fifty miles from the landing place they were supposed to supervise, and the office, he says, seemed to be entailed upon members of the Council, which naturally was slow to act against those belonging to its own body. But what most irritated Randolph was the "starchd and Spanish dignity"¹⁴⁷ of the

¹⁴² Letter CIX.

¹⁴³ Letter CXVIII.

¹⁴⁴ Letter CIX.

¹⁴⁵ Letter CIX.

¹⁴⁶ Letter CIX.

¹⁴⁷ Letter CVI.

the Councillors. These were no longer, as in Massachusetts, the rough and sturdy sons of East Anglian yeomen, but gentlemen priding themselves on their family and breeding, however lax in their ideas of their duties as to revenue, and consequently not easy to deal with. One of their main offences in the Surveyor's eyes was their attempt to establish native manufactures, to the detriment¹⁴⁸ of the customs.

On 10th May, 1692, the Assembly of Maryland met. Copley came from "his apartment,"¹⁴⁹ a stinking ordinary, and made a very politic speech, which is preserved. But before they reassembled next day he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, from the effects of which he never properly recovered. He had hitherto been immensely popular, but now discreditable reports as to his financial position in England began to be circulated, which Randolph was not likely either to contradict or to soften down, and his surroundings were such that one of the country magnates of Maryland sent him a message to say that he would wait upon him when he kept better company.

Randolph had already made one short trip to Philadelphia, but in July, 1692, he set out on a regular tour¹⁵⁰ of inspection, after seeing the summer fleet start homeward from the Capes. Philadelphia he found, he says, a resort of retired pirates and an asylum for debtors from New York; at Burlington the collector had built him a fine house, but was "not worth a groat;" and Woodbridge was a prosperous colony of New England men. On 12th August, he arrived at New York, where Ingoldsby was doing great service by holding the

¹⁴⁸ Letter CXXV.

¹⁴⁹ Letter CIX.

¹⁵⁰ Letter CXVIII.

the place under military régime till the coming of the new Governor Fletcher. The embers of Leisler's amazing rebellion were still smouldering; but the chief civil authority had somehow slipped into the hands of Randolph's old associate Joseph Dudley, now known as "Joseph the Jew." Whatever may be the truth as to the real character of this enigmatic personage, he had certainly no business in authority at New York, and Randolph is probably just in his estimate of the good and bad elements in the Council as represented respectively by Dudley's friends and opponents. Indeed, Fletcher on his arrival had at once to get rid of both "Joseph the Jew" and his principal supporter Pinhorn on the ground of non-residence. Randolph singles out two men as especially deserving of favour — James Graham and Robert Livingston. Both seem to have been capable administrators, and the latter was especially notable for his success in dealing with Indian troubles.

From New York Randolph went to Boston. It would be interesting to know how he was received by his old enemies; but of them we have not a word. His old friends William Wallis and John Usher, the latter of whom now held the thorny position of Deputy Governor of New Hampshire, welcomed him heartily, and the state of things under Phips's rule must have rejoiced his revengeful heart. Taxation was cruel; Phips's ill-conducted expedition against Canada had completely failed, and all that that remarkable commander could do to restore his reputation was to make excursions¹⁵¹ in search of beaver-skins along the coast of Maine; "and," says

¹⁵¹ Letter CXIX.

says Randolph, "if he fails it is good Husbandry to charge it to the public account." He himself was received by the Governor in his coachhouse, and a second interview¹⁵² ended with an assurance from Phips that if they were not under his own roof, he would give his visitor a drubbing, of which, as we know from his conduct on other occasions, he was quite capable.¹⁵³ As to "neighbour John's" province of New Hampshire, it was practically abandoned to the Indians, seven or eight families being crowded together in each of a few stockaded houses.

Returning by way¹⁵⁴ of New York, Randolph met there with an unpleasant surprise: Chidley Brooke, whom, in a letter of 16th August, 1692, he had handled rather roughly, and had charged with opposing the vote of Blathwayt's salary as auditor, had by some means obtained¹⁵⁵ or seen a copy of the letter, and now awaited Randolph's return to charge him with slander. Randolph was compelled to write a retraction and apology for the statement as based on misinformation; and to make matters sure, Brooke had the signature

¹⁵² Letter CXX.

¹⁵³ See the remarkable case of Captain Short, R. N., *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693, nos. 224, 247. Phips attacked Short, who had been crippled in his right hand in action, and beat him unmercifully, afterwards committing him to prison in the common gaol and appointing his gunner to command his ship (the Nonfuch).

¹⁵⁴ Attached to Randolph's letter of 27th September, from Boston (Letter CXIX), in the flyleaf, is a letter addressed to Wallis by Vaughan and Richard Waldern (the younger), dated

21st October, and urgently demanding the annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts, and denouncing the claims of Samuel Allen as proprietor. It is impossible to believe that Randolph intended to forward such a document, and the explanation seems to be that he had carelessly left his letter to be copied and forwarded by a subordinate, who used up his flyleaf to accommodate another document which Wallis wanted forwarded. How negligent Randolph could be about his custody of his letters we see from the case of Chidley Brooke.

¹⁵⁵ Letters CXXIII, CXXIV.

ture witnessed by Van Cortlandt, and also took several copies of it, one of which, mistrusting Randolph, he sent himself to Blathwayt. It is only fair to say that Randolph had already forwarded the letter¹⁵⁶ to Blathwayt; and it should be added, in compliment to Randolph's sagacity, that Brooke afterwards proved a highly unsatisfactory official, and after being threatened by the honest Bellomont with suspension, finally took refuge in the service¹⁵⁷ of the East India Company.

✓ But during the Surveyor's absence from the South, Copley and his creatures had not been idle. On 29th July, before Randolph had been four months in the colonies, the Governor himself wrote a personal communication to the Lords of Trade,¹⁵⁸ in which he attacked Randolph chiefly on the ground of incivility. This was followed on 21st December, by a long and elaborate document,¹⁵⁹ signed by several members of the Council, containing accusations of corruption and disloyalty. The charges were three in number, one being a frivolous story of the drinking of King James's health. Of the remaining two, one emanating from "Pennsylvania," really New Castle, was a deposition of one Vanderburgh to the effect that Randolph had undertaken for the paltry sum of "twenty pieces of eight" (about six pounds sterling) to see that he was no further troubled in the matter of a bond; but what he "took to be a receipt" for the pieces of eight was in reality nothing of the sort, and the "attestation" by Randolph's bitter enemy Markham was not worth

¹⁵⁶ See note to Letter CXXIV.

¹⁵⁸ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 77.

¹⁵⁷ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. LIII. p. 164, no. 23; Vol. LXIII. p. 329, no. 38.

¹⁵⁹ *Supra*, Vol. V. pp. 81-90.

worth the paper it was written on. The third charge Randolph rightly treated with contempt as "hearsay" merely, and he shewed his own opinion of the depositions by forwarding them himself to the Lords of Trade.¹⁶⁰ The Council of Maryland, when Copley's influence was removed, treated them with equal contempt.¹⁶¹ It is remarkable, however, that the original document of 21st December, 1692, never reached England, though a duplicate was received on 15th September, 1693,¹⁶² six days after Lionel Copley's death.

The subsequent proceedings are not very easy to follow. Involved in Randolph's unpopularity with the Governor and Council was Sir Thomas Lawrence, who, like other "Secretaries" of the time, had been appointed by the Home Government¹⁶³ to check the proceedings of Copley, whom they had never trusted. Lawrence had before failing assured himself of the Secretary's privileges, particularly as to appointment¹⁶⁴ of Clerks of the County Courts. These offices Copley regarded as his perquisites for sale or patronage, and this was the real ground of his enmity to Lawrence, who naturally turned for support to Randolph, the only other direct representative of the home authorities. On 27th March, 1693, Copley issued an order for Lawrence's arrest, drawn up by a person whom he had illegally appointed to one of the Secretary's own offices, and alleging frivolous causes,

¹⁶⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693, no. 264, and letter.

¹⁶¹ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. p. 155.

¹⁶² *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693, no. 263.

¹⁶³ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, no. 1665.

¹⁶⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, nos. 1946, 1952; for Copley's view, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1692, no. 2562.

causes, among which appear that of comforting with disaffected persons, meaning of course Edward Randolph. Lawrence's arrest was effected quietly, and elated by this success the Governor next gave a warrant¹⁶⁵ to Harpam — according to Randolph one of his most objectionable creatures — to seize the person of the Surveyor, on charges which would not, even if true, have justified the caning of a schoolboy. Randolph¹⁶⁶ was fully intending to be present at the following meeting of Council at St. Mary's, but Harpam in his impatience crossed the frontier on the Eastern shore of the bay and induced a Virginian Justice of the Peace, one William Anderson, to assist him in effecting the arrest there. Anderson took the prisoner to Colonel Richard Scarborough,¹⁶⁷ who seems to have given him small thanks for doing so; and, by Scarborough's connivance probably, Randolph almost immediately escaped, and after lying for several nights and days¹⁶⁸ in a swamp, finally found himself under the protection of Andros, now Governor of Virginia, where he had arrived during the Surveyor's absence in the North. Copley had the assurance¹⁶⁹ to demand the extradition of his enemy, which Andros naturally refused, and the foolish Anderson was punished at the information of Charles Scarborough by being removed from the Commission of the Peace.¹⁷⁰ It is extraordinary that Randolph hardly alludes to this affair at all in his correspondence. When he does so, he speaks of it with remarkable nonchalance,¹⁷¹ and is much more occupied

¹⁶⁵ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 90.

¹⁶⁹ Letter CXXV.

¹⁶⁶ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 104.

¹⁷⁰ Letter CLXXVIII.

¹⁶⁷ Number CXXVIII.

¹⁷¹ Number CXXIX.

¹⁶⁸ Letter CXXX.

occupied with his prosecutions and his efforts to obtain black walnut and red cedar for the adornment of the new residences of Blathwayt and Robert Chaplin, another high official. Indeed his difficulties over the collection of this timber occupy a disproportionate share of his letters at this time; but he finds leisure to pen a most caustic account of some of the colonies and their administrations, describing that of Massachussets as a "Bedleham Government"¹⁷² — a term not undeserved, considering the behaviour of Phips, who was endeavouring to settle the disputed possession of the island of Martha's Vineyard by a duel with Fletcher of New York. Of the sullen and self-seeking character of the latter Randolph had formed an accurate estimate.¹⁷³ In the same letter he gives an epigrammatic but most lurid description¹⁷⁴ of the manners and morals of Patrick Mein, his predecessor in the office of Surveyor. Mein was on quite friendly terms with him, and wrote him from Barbadoes, where he was now stationed, a letter fully supporting his bad estimate of Nehemiah Blakiston's character.¹⁷⁵ But no civil treatment ever prevented Edward Randolph from expressing his unvarnished opinion of a delinquent official.

In September, 1693, Copley, as Randolph had predicted,¹⁷⁶ died,

¹⁷² Letter CXXV.

¹⁷³ Letter CXXI.

¹⁷⁴ Letter CXXV.

¹⁷⁵ Blakiston's son was afterwards Governor on the recommendation of Scarborough. Sir William Russell had applied for the office, and was supported by the whole of the great Russell influence. But the King did not think him equal to the task, con-

fidering "of what consequence it is to have Governors in the Plantations proper for their employments." *Vernon Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 97. Vernon shews his own knowledge of the candidate by speaking of him as "Thom" Blakiston. His name was Nathaniel. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. V. p. 260.

¹⁷⁶ Letter CVII.

died, probably as a result of his excesses, and there was some prospect of anarchy in Maryland. Blakiston began to raise men to support his own pretensions to the Governorship, and Coode, who had been the chief leader of the revolutionary party, put forward the claim of Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was still in prison under Copley's orders. But Andros, acting under¹⁷⁷ a highly ambiguous clause in his commission, settled matters at once by appearing in person and assuming the government himself. He then proceeded in a very high-handed manner to allot funds from the already depleted treasury. He received a grant of £500 for himself — of which, if Randolph is right, he stood in sore need¹⁷⁸ — and promised £150 to Greenberry, a member of Council, whom he left as his deputy. When the new Governor Nicholson, lately of Virginia, arrived, there was not unnaturally difficulty about these payments,¹⁷⁹ and, as Randolph had foreseen, every official practically was found to be heavily in debt to the Crown. As to Blakiston, who died a month after Copley — according to Randolph of chagrin at missing the governorship, — his public defalcations were so great, and his widow offered such determined resistance to investigation, that Plater, Randolph and others¹⁸⁰ were authorised by the Council to break into her house and seize any public documents to be found there. Copley owed the Government

¹⁷⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. Preface. The contingency contemplated was Nicholson's death and Copley's absence, whereas quite the contrary happened.

¹⁷⁸ Letter CXXV.

¹⁷⁹ Plater and Blathwayt, Letter

XXXIX, and *Treasury Papers*, Vol. XXXIII. p. 449, no. 52 (and enclosures); Vol. XXXI. p. 409, no. 8; Vol. XX. p. 266, no. 33.

¹⁸⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. p. 131.

ment at his death £470, and his executor Tench had great difficulty ¹⁸¹ in settling with the Treasury on the subject.

Randolph's enemies being thus removed or disgraced, he entered upon halcyon days. He became a member of the Council of Maryland, in whose minutes he is generally described as "Esquire Randolph," and we find an entry of a promise by him to give £10 yearly to the free school ¹⁸² as long as he continues a member. But he was in wretched health, suffering from gout and gravel, and he would have taken his friends' advice and gone home for the sake of the Bath waters, if he could have got the black walnut and the red cedar off his conscience. Both Andros and Nicholson were his friends, and both were ready to support him in carrying out the Acts of Trade. It is their troubles that he has now chiefly to chronicle, though of course his own complaints ¹⁸³ of negligence on the part of collectors continue. Andros, he says, had done great things for the colony, especially from the military point of view: he had dredged up cannon long funk in the mud, ¹⁸⁴ and had provided an arsenal, but was met with factious opposition in the Assembly. The Commissioners of Customs were anxious to have towns to deal with in place of scattered settlements; for their collectors would have easier work in exacting dues at authorised ports than when they had to keep a look-out over hundreds of miles of small riverside trading-places. The Council supported the proposition

¹⁸¹ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. XXX. p. 402, no. 47, etc. pp. 128, 155, 188, 428, 444. Plater as Attorney General supported his complaints.

¹⁸² *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XIX. p. 50. ¹⁸³ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX.

¹⁸⁴ Letter CXXV.

tion as tending to the advancement of their favourite manufactures, but the Burgesses would have none of it, fancying themselves, says Randolph, as great as the House of Commons in England, "and if they may not do as they please¹⁸⁶ in everything will do just nothing."

From August, 1694, to July, 1698, there is a gap in the Blathwayt letters, broken only by a single despatch from Randolph¹⁸⁷ in London to his chief at his home in Gloucestershire. But the state papers and the documents preserved in colonial archives fill up the blank. From those of Maryland we know that Randolph was actively engaged, as long as he remained in America, in prosecuting interlopers and offenders against the Navigation Laws. He himself implies that in every single instance¹⁸⁸ he was defeated in the courts—a statement which requires considerable qualification, and is indeed directly contradicted by Nicholson, who gives a full account of the condemnation of the ship *Expectation*.¹⁸⁹ The authorities¹⁹⁰ of Maryland at least seem to have supported him loyally; it was in the Northern colonies that the barefaced perversions of justice referred to above¹⁹⁰ occurred; and even there, when the

Governors

¹⁸⁶ Letter CXXV.

¹⁸⁷ Letter CL.

¹⁸⁸ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 139. It is evident that he quotes only the cases which he did lose and not those which he won.

¹⁸⁹ Nicholson to Council of Trade: *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697, p. 547, no. 1178.

¹⁹⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. p. 42 (24th February, 1693-4). Randolph is supported against Tench in the matter of the seizure of the ship *Margaret*.

Cf. also p. 65. The same Tench is at *Randolph's suggestion* appointed Admiralty judge in the case of the ship *Recovery*, p. 172. After Randolph's return in 1698, however, it must be acknowledged that the tone of the Council is less friendly to him (*Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XIII. *passim*), and Nathaniel Blakiston, who succeeded Nicholson as Governor, can hardly have loved him.

¹⁹⁰ *Supra*, Vol. II. p. 155, etc.

Governors happened to be men of integrity and loyalty, like the Earl of Bellomont, he found every assistance given him.

On 20th May, 1695, he applied to Nicholson for leave ¹⁹¹ of absence, setting forth his reasons in full, and later on he received an allowance of 4500 pounds of tobacco ¹⁹² for his itinerant charges. But he did not sail till the end of the year. By 13th January, 1695-6, he was in England, ¹⁹³ serving an entirely new authority.

The relaxation of the admirable colonial administration of James II. in 1688, and the need of propitiating the revolutionary governments in the plantations, had produced an intolerable confusion in management, leading not only to constant infringement of the Acts of Trade, but also to an enormous growth of piracy, into which even the King's ships — certainly their commanders — were at times drawn; while the East India fleets, it was complained, had been well nigh swept from the seas by American freebooters. To cope with these difficulties, the old Committee of Trade and Plantations had been powerless, and at the suggestion of Parliament a new body, called concisely the Board of Trade, was constituted in May, 1696. It differed vastly from its predecessor: it was no longer a committee of the Privy Council, and the old ecclesiastical and red-tape elements were removed and replaced by shrewd administration. Six great officers of state were *ex officio* members, and with them were joined John, Earl of Bridgewater, Forde

¹⁹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. pp. 236, 237.

¹⁹² *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 2237.

¹⁹³ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX. p. 261.

Forde Grey, Earl of Tankerville, who in spite of his evil reputation was a man of great ability, John Pollexfen, and among others, for a time, John Locke.¹⁹⁴ Blathwayt, instead of Secretary, became a member, and his place was taken and most capably filled by William Popple. This was a very strong board, and it was a proof of the esteem in which Randolph was held that he was for a year and a half¹⁹⁵ its trusted adviser. During this year and a half his industry was untiring. A few of his "memorials" are printed in the fifth volume of this collection. These are chiefly directed against the infamously bad administration of the Proprietary colonies and their systematic evasion of the Navigation Acts. But Randolph's criticism was by no means destructive merely: his paper on the supply of naval stores¹⁹⁶ from the colonies, and his memorandum on the settlement of lands in Virginia¹⁹⁷ shew the hand of no mere exciseman, but that of a practised administrator. So thoroughly were the Board convinced of his perspicacity that they allowed him practically to nominate the new Crown officers, who were henceforth to hold in check, in every colony, the wretched Governors appointed by the Proprietors. Once and once only did he make a grave mistake in the case of the recommendation of one Graves,¹⁹⁸ who turned

¹⁹⁴ Locke was by no means a mere theorist; he had been Secretary to the old Board in 1673, and had intended to visit America. In 1696 he drew up a very careful plan for managing the Board's affairs in Ireland, and he retained his seat until 1700.

¹⁹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697, no. 759: "We

have accepted Mr. Randolph's list of officers for the new Admiralty courts. Our best means of judging of their fitness is from the character that Mr. Randolph gives of them."

¹⁹⁶ Number CXLIV.

¹⁹⁷ Number CXLV.

¹⁹⁸ Letter CLII.

turned out to be a man of bad antecedents. But it was owing to his untiring efforts that the Crown appointed Attorney-Generals in every colony, proprietary or otherwise, and insisted on the approval by the King in Council of every governor suggested by the Proprietors. The marvel is that, considering his signal services, his vast experience, and his capacity for summarising its results in working form, he did not succeed in making good his claim to something more than the paltry offices he actually held. The only possible explanation is that which contemporary accounts justify us in believing—that Randolph's personality was repellent and of the kind which does not invite generosity. At all events, he returned to the colonies, not one penny the richer, in November, 1697.

But besides his services to the Commissioners of Customs and the Board of Trade, Randolph had played no inconsiderable part before the House of Lords in the promotion of the Act for Preventing Abuses in the Plantation Trade. His first appearance before the House was on 24th March, 1695–6,¹⁹⁹ when he was called in and stood at the Bar to speak to the first clause of the Act. Three days after, he was again summoned and asked if he had prepared a clause for a Court of Admiralty. Such a court he said was already provided by the Acts of Trade of Charles II., but he was allowed to propose words to be inserted in the Bill. On 18th April, he was before the Lords to speak on the question of the wool-supply²⁰⁰ of New England. But his great opportunity

¹⁹⁹ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 233.

²⁰⁰ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 247.

portunity came in February,²⁰¹ 1697, when, on the 15th, he laid before a Committee of Trade and Plantations appointed by the Lords on 10th February, his paper of "Proposals to the Commissioners of Customs for Regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade,"²⁰² and was directed to lay before them also a copy of "the lease made by the late King James when Duke of York to Mr. Penn, of that part of Maryland that lies on the sea-coast, whereby the trade of the Plantations is so much abused." This he could not do — Penn being himself afterwards compelled to produce it — but instead gave in a Report of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals on Penn's Grants. He was then ordered to prepare a list of "Proprietors of Plantations that are independent of his Majesty," while the Commissioners of Customs were directed to consider "whether it be necessary to send Mr. Randolph presently with the other officers to the Plantations." The request for a list of Proprietors gave Randolph an opportunity of attacking Penn, and instead of a mere enumeration, he handed in the long and minute account²⁰³ of the Plantations and the misdeeds of their Proprietors and Governors, which appears in various forms in the State papers and in these Memoirs. The reflections upon Penn's government and especially on the conduct of Markham, his deputy in the "Three Lower Counties," were pointed enough to render Penn furious. He replied in a tone of mingled excuse and invective,²⁰⁴ declaring

²⁰¹ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 2ndar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1696*, nos. 149, 396.

²⁰² *Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Vol. II. p. 411, no. 1115 (b)*, printed ²⁰⁴ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Vol. II. pp. 456, 457; post, Letter supra, Vol. V. p. 135.*

²⁰³ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 151. Cf. *Cal-*

declaring that if there was illegal trade it was through the negligence of Randolph, and ending with the renewal of a very ancient charge to which the Surveyor had exposed himself by declaring that Markham was too poor to be honest. "If his poverty," said Penn, "be an objection, he shall be changed if the King pleases: but for that reason E. Randall ought not to be Surveyor of the Customs, who I have reason to believe is not worth five hundred pounds, if one, in the whole world." But the Lords were little moved either by Penn's counter-accusations or by his "Expedient against Fraud in the Tobacco Trade," ²⁰⁵ which he presently laid before them. Randolph drew up a paper ²⁰⁶ in which he confirmed each of his statements to Penn's detriment by facts or quotations; and the Lords so far adopted his view that they told Penn ²⁰⁷ "If there be any further complaint against the Proprietors after this, the Parliament may possibly take another course in this matter which will be less pleasing to them." And solid measures were taken to prevent abuses. First the Commissioners of Customs reported in favour ²⁰⁸ of Randolph's proposals to the Lords' Committee; then there followed a report of that Committee to the same effect, and then one ²⁰⁹ of his Memorials on illegal trade was referred to the Judge of the Admiralty, who approved ²¹⁰ its main point; and finally we have the result of the whole discussion

²⁰⁵ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 490, no. 1115 (dd).

²⁰⁶ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. pp. 451-454.

²⁰⁷ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. pp. 458-460; *post*, Letter CLIA.

²⁰⁸ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 447; *supra*, Vol. V. p. 117.

²⁰⁹ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 414.

²¹⁰ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 455; *post*, Letter CXLII.

discussion in stringent instructions ²¹¹ issued to all Collectors, and an almost minatory circular ²¹² to the Governors of Plantations. Randolph's last performance with regard to the Lords seems to have been the presentation, on 4th March, ²¹³ of a paper attacking his old enemies the Scottish interlopers and their new East India Company, with regard to the designs of which (on Darien) he was as much in the dark as any of his contemporaries; indeed he seems to have suspected that the Scots would purchase large tracts of coastland in the Proprietary Governments.

It speaks much for Randolph's own honesty of character that wherever he found a governor of acknowledged probity and loyalty, there he found a friend. This was certainly so in the case of Lord Bellomont, who, during his sojourn in New York in 1698, considered him as an indispensable counsellor. The Treasury Papers contain proofs of this in plenty. When Randolph, after making a slow progress from Virginia to the North, administering the new oaths and enforcing the Navigation Acts wherever he could, arrived at New York in May, 1698, he was promptly ²¹⁴ arrested at the suit of one Lancaster Symes for a false seizure. Symes was, says Bellomont, really a lieutenant in the King's service, but had received permission from Governor Fletcher to go a-trading on his own account — a fine illustration of the state of the navy in American waters. Bellomont was unable to prevent

²¹¹ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, for an earlier paper see *post*, Letter Vol. II. pp. 472-481.

CLXI.

²¹² *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, ²¹⁴ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 215. *Treasury Vol. II. pp. 481-488.* Papers, Vol. LIV. no. 45 (10th July, 1698, from Bellomont).

²¹³ *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. p. 488; *post*, Letter CLI B.; and

prevent the prosecution, but shrewdly suspected that Symes had been set on by Randolph's enemy Chidley Brooke, and ends his letter with the remark that if the King's authority is not to be supported, he must ask to be recalled, and that probably Randolph would ask the same. It was on Randolph's advice also that the Governor replaced Brooke on the Council²¹⁵ by Van Cortlandt; only in respect of Randolph's office of Inspector of Trees for the Navy, Bellomont²¹⁶ thinks him on a level with Brenton as a perfectly idle officer. This probably led to the rejection of Randolph's request for his restoration to the office in place of Sir Henry Ashurst's nominees.²¹⁷

There follows a lively quarrel with Markham, Penn's irregularly appointed Deputy Governor. Quarry, Nicholson and Randolph had all²¹⁸ made representations to the Treasury in this matter, but the last-named, with his usual utter want of tact, bearded Markham in his stronghold at Philadelphia, and after being insulted by an official whom he had charged with the grave offence of being a Scotsmen,²¹⁹ was for the third time in his stormy career laid by the heels and compelled to deliver up certain bonds which he intended to have proceeded upon. He returned to New York, having taken little by his expedition, and presently found an opportunity of proceeding South in a small sloop.

He had long had his eye on Bermuda. For twenty years that

²¹⁵ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. LVI. no. 78 (11th October, 1698).

²¹⁶ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. LXIII. no. 29 (8th September, 1699).

²¹⁷ Letter CLVII.

²¹⁸ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. LXI. no. 44 (24th May, 1699, Customs to Treasury).

²¹⁹ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 218, and all the documents printed *post* as supplements to Number CLVIII.

that unhappy colony had been proving to the world that the King's Governors could be every whit as bad as those of the proprietors. From the time of Governor Coney, who had only been rescued from death at the hands of an incensed populace²²⁰ by the opportune arrival of a pirate, four adventurers successively had oppressed the islanders and exploited their revenues. The last and the worst—Samuel Day—was now in power; and it was Randolph's last great service to his country, though it probably cost him years of his own life, to overthrow him and his systematic tyranny. But for the present he had his hands full; the Customs Commissioners had directed him to concert with Nicholson of Maryland the settlement of the officials on Chesapeake Bay; but Nicholson having now been removed to Virginia, and Blakiston's son having succeeded him, Randolph went to South Carolina, administered oaths, wrote despatches about the alleged²²¹ silver mines, and sent home scathing indictments of the officials²²² of the colony. He found time also to investigate and report upon the Spanish raids on South Carolina, going back as far as the year 1686,²²³ and his proposal was that the English should at once occupy and retain, until certain claims were satisfied, the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine; otherwise, he says, the French will have it. The wary old official already foresaw the scramble of the Spanish Succession, and would have his country seize²²⁴ at least the share ready to hand.

On

²²⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 532, etc.
²²¹ *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 200.

²²² Letter CLXIV.
²²³ Letter CLXII.
²²⁴ Letter CLXV.

On 4th April, 1699, he landed in the Bermudas, and for the next six weeks he showered letters and despatches upon the Board of Trade and the Commissioners of Customs and their secretaries. Constantly referring to his instructions to communicate²²⁵ all that was of weight or interest, the inveterate old tale-bearer arraigned the management and character not only of the existing Governor but of his predecessors for the last twelve years. That his attacks upon Samuel Day were justified subsequent events pretty clearly shewed; but here as elsewhere, Randolph was the victim of his own extraordinary carelessness as to his letters. Sitting by the death-bed of Samuel Trott, an officer of integrity whom Day had removed from office,²²⁶ he wrote the rough draft of a letter to the Commissioners of Customs on Trott's behalf, setting forth his wrongs. This draft Trott's treacherous son forthwith carried to Day, and this, with another letter similarly obtained, formed the basis of the Governor's indictment of Randolph, on the strength of which he was on 16th May, 1699, committed to prison — "a nasty Jakes,"²²⁷ as he calls it — and there remained till 3d January, 1700.

On 18th May, Day had the effrontery to write²²⁸ to the Board of Trade to justify the action. He did not even, as Copley had done, forward manufactured affidavits as to bribery and sedition; he simply accused Randolph of writing damaging letters as to his character and that of his predecessors. The effect of his letter was immediate, but probably not what he had expected. On 4th July, the Board

²²⁵ Letter CLIII.
²²⁶ Letter CLXXIII.

²²⁷ Letters CLXXV, CLXXVI.
²²⁸ Letter CLXXII.

Board²²⁹ ordered "that a representation be drawn with the opinion of this Board that Mr. Randolph has been illegally committed and that their Excellencies the Lords Justices may please to give order that he may be immediately discharged." An order in Council followed on 13th July, was read²³⁰ at the Board on 17th July, and a letter ordered to be written to Day in consequence. The contents of the letter we do not know; they were probably severe, but the actual order for Randolph's release was delayed until the failing of a new Secretary for the islands in the autumn, and the Governor succeeded in putting off his liberation till January of the following year.²³¹ On the very day of his enlargement Randolph seized the sloop Borecatt, "alias the Prudent Jane, alias the Blessing, of which the Governor was a third part owner," and being also appointed by the Lords Justices (acting for the Crown) a Justice of the Peace for the Colony, he set to work to collect depositions against his enemy. These proceedings Day succeeded in rendering nugatory; but the very damaging statements of Spofforth²³² arrived in England early in the new year, and in spite of the intercession of his father, Sir Thomas Day,²³³ the Governor was removed from office, becoming, as the triumphant Randolph put it, in place of a broken linen-draper (which he alleges Day to have been) a broken governor.

But Randolph himself was broken. He was now an old man

²²⁹ *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. D. (12), p. III.

²³⁰ *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. D. (12), p. III.

²³¹ Letter CLXXVIII.

²³² *Supra*, Vol. V. p. 204

²³³ *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. D. p. 364. Sir T. Day was at one time Mayor of Bristol, and Member of Parliament for the city in 1698. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol* (XVII Century).

man — probably over seventy — and imprisonment was no longer a light matter to him, as it had been in the spacious days of Andros in Massachusetts. His letters written during his imprisonment lack all the buoyancy of those earlier ones, and are plaintive and senile in tone. His health moreover was impaired; the internal disease from which he suffered was one which the cold and damp of a prison of those days could not fail to aggravate, and from the same cause he was thenceforward afflicted with a permanent lameness in one knee.

Yet he must still be doing. On 2d March, 1700, he sailed from Bermuda to the Bahamas, at that time under the sway of one Read Elding,²³⁴ who had simply taken over the government without any proper commission, on the death of Webb, the proprietors' deputy, and who himself, according to Randolph, was little better than a pirate. The two or three letters which we have of this period, written from New Providence and thereafter from Carolina, are full of complaints as to this man's misdeeds and as to the miserably neglected condition of the colony. Indeed, if Randolph's allegations are at all correct, it must have been one of the worst even of the Proprieties. Though they were surrounded by enemies, Spaniards and pirates, the colonists were left practically defenceless, and their application²³⁵ to their proprietors for means to repel attacks, were met by a remittance

²³⁴ Letter CLXXXV.

²³⁵ Letter CLXXXVI. A letter from Randolph under date of 20th February, 1701-2, enclosing an address from the Assembly of Carolina to the Proprietors

as to their want of arms, is wrongly indexed in the Journals of the Board, and cannot be found, but see *post* Letter CLXV.

remittance of "thirty-six pounds odd sterlinc." Nor does the state of things in Carolina seem to have been much better.

We know from Randolph's own summary of his voyages that in July, 1700, he was in Bermuda, actually finding that the easiest way to pass from Carolina to Virginia. But there we lose sight of him, and he suddenly appears in England in November; nor can we ascertain from any source of information at present available how and why he returned thither. Of his proceedings before the Board of Trade, and his attacks upon the Proprietary Governments, the Journals²²⁶ of the Board give plenty of information, and all that can be ascertained is clearly set forth in the second volume of these Memoirs. All that is here added is a very full and practical state paper²²⁷ on the conditions, social and financial, of the Bermudas, and two somewhat mysterious letters²²⁸ addressed to Blathwayt at his home in Gloucestershire — in one of which Randolph speaks of having offended Sir Robert Southwell, and in another of having given umbrage to the Commissioners of Customs.

And in this characteristic position — embroiled with his best friends — we leave him. His words to Blathwayt are sufficiently melancholy: "I have," he says, "no freind but God and you to stand by me;" they would be more affecting if we did not know from a hundred proofs in his own handwriting that, in spite of his undoubted integrity and his patriotism, which, however misguided and perverse, was still real patriotism,

²²⁶ *Board of Trade Journal*, 21 February, 5th March, 1700-1, 1 April, 10 April, 1701.

²²⁷ Letter CLXXXIX.

²²⁸ Letters CXC, CXCI.

patriotism, Edward Randolph was a man whose fractious temperament and impatience of others' opinions would never allow him to keep a friend.

In the fifth volume of these Memoirs are given several documents subsequent to this, ending with the official account of Randolph's death in Virginia. There are besides one or two papers of his referred to in the Journals of the Board of Trade for 1702, including a "letter²³⁹ from Mr Randolph of the 20th [February, 1701-2] with an address from the Assembly of Carolina to the Lords Proprietors about their need of Arms," and a "Proposal²⁴⁰ from Mr Randolph for notifying the war against France and Spain to all her Majestys Plantations by way of Bermuda." This last was apparently acted upon, for a letter was written to the Earl of Nottingham on the subject; but inaccurate references are given for both documents, and they still lie hid among the thousands of papers which make up the "bundles" of the Board of Trade.

Randolph's spelling is for his time exceedingly good; wherever false orthography occurs it will generally be found to be the work of a clerk or, as is apparently the case with the documents published by Hutchinson, of an illiterate copyist. His rampant style and his exuberance of epigram speak for themselves. It is plain that he wrote always *currēte calamo*, and his wrath against the violators of statutes and bylaws simply overflowed upon paper.

The

²³⁹ *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. F. p. 339 (23^d February, 1701-2). For the question of arms, see *post*, Letter CLXXXIX.

The documents here published are numbered throughout for ease of reference, and the great number of allusions — sometimes recondite — in the private letters have rendered necessary a good many explanatory foot-notes. In other respects the editor has adhered closely to the arrangement and methods of his predecessor.



DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS.





DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS.

I.

RANDOLPH ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS AGENTS.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. LXXVIII. fol. 187.*

[No date ²⁴¹ or place.]

Whereas his Ma^{tie} was pleased in March 1676 to intrust me wth his Royall letters to the Governm^t of the Massachusets Bay in New Engl^d. And whereas I then received instructions to return an account of the state of that country and more particularly how farr the Acts of Parlm^t relating to Trade and Navigation be respected or executed there. I did humbly represent upon my arrivall in England. That notwthstanding his Ma^{ties} positive commands that all due obedience

²⁴¹ The date of this and the two following documents is approximately fixed by internal evidence. The Agents had obtained their copy of Randolph's "Narrative" from Malon in the autumn of 1677, but did not openly attack it till March, 1678 (*Supra*, Vol. I. p. 92);

to this he refers in the words "by the same care and conveyance they were acquainted with the charge brought against them." This memorial may therefore be safely assigned to March or April, 1678. It is probably addressed to the Lord Treasurer.

obedience should be given thereunto yet the Bostoners did soe farr preferr the unbounded liberty of Trade (which they had soe long practiced to the unspeakable detriment of this nation and other English colonyes in America) before their naturall Duty and allegiance to his Ma^{ties} that they did persist wthout any restraint whatsoever to violate every particular clause of the Acts of Parlm^t which did any way interfere wth their private interest and thereby haue enticed and encouraged other Colonyes of his Ma^{ties} subjects to drive that unlawfull trade all which the messengers of the said Bostoners could not denye. and for euading the effects of his Ma^{ties} displeasure as well as a regulation intended to bee made against their unlicensed practise. they have contrived as I humbly conceive that their Principles should make some specious declaration and pretence of obedience to his Ma^{ties} Orders by enacting that all Masters of Vessells doe yeald all faithfull obedience to the Acts of Trade and Navigation for the future, whereby they doe cleerely avow their former disobedience.

And whereas I am yett attending his Ma^{ties} commands in relation to these matters I doe most humbly craue leauue to lay before your Lord^s the particulders following.

1. That the Bostoners re-enacting this Act of Parlm^t doe encourage the English under their Governm^t to beleive that noe Acts of Parlm^t much les Orders from his Ma^{ties} are in force with them untill such a tyme as their Governors in Ge^t Court doe enact and order them soe to bee.

2. Whereas the Court of Boston doth declare that his Ma^{ties} pleasure herein had not been before signified unto them either by exprefse from his Ma^{ties} or any of his Ministers of State.

It

It may be presumed that they were afraid to own unto the poeple under their Governm^t that they had soe notoriously and for soe long tyme neglected their duty and obedience to his Ma^{ts} least thofe poeple which are for the most part very loyall and ready to receiue and execute his Ma^{ts} commands (if they were encouraged & permitted thereunto by their Superiors) should discouer the intrigues of their Governm^t and take occasion as formerly they haue done to complaine of their Yoake and remonstrate against their Authority.

And it is further to bee obserued that for the managing this Contrivance they haue taken soe little care to confine themselves to the decency of truth that although their very Magistrates and their present Secretary Rawson had in 1663 confess'd the receite of his Ma^{ts} Orders to putt in execu-
tion the Acts of Parlm^t as appears by an Act printed by them and is well known to the present Messengers that are now attending yet now after soe many yeaeres and soe many transgressions which they cannot forgett they are not willing to call to remembrance the former signification of his Ma^{ts} pleasure concluding perhaps that the irregularity of their Governm^t and manners are soe little taken notice of by his Ma^{ts} Ministers that any appearance or declaration coming from them shall blot out of all memory what they haue formerly acknowledged and therefore haue most un-
faithfully and dishonourably taxed his Ma^{ts} and his Ministry not to have wthin the space of 17 yeeres informed the Court of Boston of their duty. Whilst they themselves glad of that pretence have shut their eyes to such Acts as none but they have been ignorant of and come now most disingen-
iously and untruely to declare that they could have giuen

a

a more tymely obedience if they had been more tymely commanded.

Lastly it is to be feard that the Bostoners hope by this contrivance to acquitt not only themselves of all imputation of disobedience but giue a yeare of Iubilee to all those under their Governm^t declaring their innocency and shutting the doore against such as lawfully by the said Acts of Parlm^t impeach them for their former transgressions giuing them liberty to plead this Act for demonstration that they are *Not Guilty* and encouraging them to hope that 17 yeeres hence or sooner another act of oblivion shall passe at the Generall Court of Boston & his Ma^{ties} remaine soe farr satisfied of their much profess'd loyalty by some now found (although under pretence of ready obedience) as to grant them his Royall pardon in confirmation of their own acts. But lett the euent bee what it will its certaine that this shew of complyance hath been occasioned by the care their Agents haue taken to inform them of his Ma^{ties} expectation in reference to the Acts of Trade & Navigation and it's not to bee doubted but by the same care and conveyance they were acquainted with the charge brought against them in relation to severall high misdemeanours. But it doth not appeare that after consideration had of these at Boston they haue thought fitt to giue any redresse. Nor am I inform'd by my corrispondents in New Eng^d that they haue gone about to giue or take the oathes of Allegiance or Supremacy to which they are positively obliged by their Charter, and also by his Ma^{ties} letter of 1662, or that they haue for any tyme suspended the worke of their minte and coining money or even testified any inclination thereunto hoping that this onely

onely declaration will stop the whole gap which is laid open and that his Ma^{re} will excuse them from the other parts of their duty

ED: RANDOLPH.

True copy of the late Act made at Boston ²²²

[There follows an Act headed: By the Gen^ll Court held at Boston Oct 26 1677, and signed: Edw^d Rawson Sec^r]

A copy of a law made at Boston 1663

[There follows another Act annotated in the margin: "The Generall Lawes of the Massachusets colony. Cambridg. printed 1672 page 139 title shipping"]

II.

AGENTS' PROTEST AGAINST RANDOLPH'S APPOINTMENT AS COLLECTOR.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. LXXVIII. fol. 191.*

Exceptions ²²³ against Mr Randolph being sent into New England humbly offered by the Agents of the Massachusets Colony there.

1. That he is a person of a very indigent fortune and soe not likely to continue unbiaffed in this the employment designed him
2. That he is a person extreamly obnoxious to his Maj^t Goverm^t of the Massachusets and his loyall subiects there inhabiting

²²² For the two Acts of the General Court here referred to, cf. *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 95, 96, 111.

²²⁴ This document, with Randolph's

reply, must be assigned to a somewhat later date than the foregoing, when his appointment as Collector had been suggested but not yet confirmed.

inhabiting with whom he will in a manner solely be concerned.

1. That he hath lately exhibited several Articles against the said Governm^t wherein he hath not only revived the memory of what hath been acted in the late times before his Maj^t: happy Restauration, but also hath endeavoured the total subversion of that Constitution ffronting his Articles with this that the Massachusets have no right to the Soyle or Governm^t and are but meer usurpers ²⁴ keeping the people in subjection upon supposition of a Royal Grant from his late Ma^{tie} which he pertinaciously stands in against the opinion of the Two Lords Cheif Justices in that matter and confirmed by his present Maj^{tie} in Councill and therefore it is justly to be doubted that he will not count himself obliged to be subiect to the wholesome Laws and orders there in force and soe unmeet to serve his Maj^{tie} in that place above all others

2. Ffor that he hath delivered to his Maj^{tie} in Councill a large Relation called the present state of New England wher in he hath in many things notorioufly trespassed upon truth, misrepresented others, what in him lyes laid a ffoundation of Jealousie and animosity between persons in Authority and places of Trust there discriminating them ther in by name and between the Colonyes for the same reason, in all discovering no good will to the Governm^t there established which temper of spirit he doth continue to shew as occasion doth present.

Which

²⁴ This is affereted in the paper of 6th May, 1677, printed *supra*, Vol. II. p. 265.

Which reasons considered we fear that the Governm^t there cannot secure him from such disrespect as we should be very loath that any person entrusted by his Maj^{ie} though never so ill deserving of that people should have put upon him.

Upon the whole we humbly hope that y^r Hon^r will not for the gratification of one single person soe circumstanced disgust a people loyally disposed to his Maj^{ie} service and who will very thankfully owne the favour done them in keeping that Gentleman at home for other preferment.

It is therefore humbly prayed that we may have liberty to recommend a person to y^r Hon^r inhabiting there ffor whom we are willing to be responsible as being altogether without exception in regard of his great loyalty to his Maj^{ie} integrity in busines and capacity above others for the present employ. Whereby the Advance money designed this Gentleman will be saved the Governm^t and people there obliged, and we are very confident his Maj^{ie} service better attended

All which is humbly submitted to yr hon^r
by yo^r humble servants

WILLIAM STOUGHTON
PETER BULKELEY.

[*Endorsed*] The Agents of the Massachusets exceptions against Mr Randolph.

III.

III.

RANDOLPH'S ANSWER TO THE AGENTS' PROTEST.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. LXXVIII. fol. 193.*

To the Hon^{ble} the Commissioners of his Majst Customs

The humble Answer of Edward Randolph to the exceptions of the agents of the Massachusets Colony against his being sent into New England.

As to his want of fortune and therefor want of honesty it seems to be a very unchristian accusation, as if Honour were made for none but the Rich. It is true his condition is not now what it has been having lost above 2000^l by fire and²⁴⁵ other Accidents. However he served his Majst sixteen yeares in the office of Commissary of the Cincq Ports and having had the advantage of some education in Cambridge²⁴⁶ he was able to discharge that trust with reputation.

And

²⁴⁵ Randolph's statement as to his losses by fire is most singularly borne out by a private letter from one Richard Watts preserved in the *State Papers, Domestic*, 1671-1672, p. 359, under date of 21st April, 1672. It runs as follows: "About ten last night we saw a fire at Westchest four miles from Deal and three from Dover at Mr. Randolph's. By the carelessness of two young fellows baiting their horses the candle took hold of straw, and the stable was immediately in a flame. In it three excellent young horses were burnt. Adjoining was a very great barn, and much corn and hogsties and hogs and outhouses with cattle wagons ploughs harness etc. which in two hours were burnt to the value of £800 leaving nothing standing

but one house which stood a good way off."

²⁴⁶ It appears from the (unpublished) records of the University of Cambridge that Randolph was matriculated as a pensioner (or ordinary student) of Queens' College, on 5th July, 1651, but did not proceed to any degree. This information is furnished to the editor by the courtesy of the Registry of the University. The records of Queens' have also been searched by Dr. Wright, tutor of that college (to whom thanks are also due), without, however, eliciting any further particulars than the designation of Randolph as 'Cantianus' and the name of his tutor. For other autobiographical details see the Introduction.

And as the prefent ebb of his fortunes will awaken his industry and a good conscience his integrity towards the King's service soe he is assured to have Supervisors enough in that colony to deterr him from any misdoing.

For his being obnoxious in New England on the account of Articles exhibited against the said Governm^t and for a large Relation called the prefent state of New England his answser is That he was by his Maj^{ie} sent into New England and had particular instructions for his comportment there and in purfuanse thereof did prefent his Ma^{tie} with a narrative of severall things for his service and secrerie soe that he desires the Agents may be examined and tell how they came by the said Relation which they now expose as matter of public accusation against him. And as to the Articles he saith the matter of them is still depending before the Lords of the Councill who haue not given their determination therein yet have already so far credited the necessity of sending over a person to stop the overthrow of the Laws of Trade made in this Kingdom that they advise the speedy sending of an officer and vouchsafe to think him not unqualified for the service. And if the Laws of that Country be such as by Charter they ought to be and as in other Plantations they are consonant to the Laws of England as neer as may be, but never repugnant, he shall undoubtedly live as quiet and comfortable there as he doth here. And though there be some menace against him and his safety touching the rage of the Common People yet he hopes the loyalty of very many persons in that colony will preserve him, and should there be doubt thereof he would humbly propose that those who foretell such mischief unless they can shew Instructions

structions for it may be kept here as pledges for one to be sent thither in his Maj^{ties} service.

He cannot but from these conclusions observe that although he only be the man loaded with their displeasure yet they are plainly against any man whosoever to be sent from this kingdom detering yr Hon^r with the charge of Advance money as if it were a thing hard to be repaired by stopping the abuse of such a law: for that he humbly concludes with a prayer

ye prayer. That yr Hon^r would but consider whether a person already employed by his Maj^{ties} in that country who at his returne hath been well accepted by his Ministers for detecting severall frauds and other devices done there be less fitt to be entrusted in the present employment than a person of the Country to be recommended by those who have been favourers of the Irregularity complained of and would be gainers by its continuance. And that yr Hon^r may determine what you conceive most for his Ma^{ties} service herein.

[*Endorsed*] Mr Randolphs answer to the Massachusets Agents exceptions

IV.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS ON RANDOLPH'S QUALIFICATIONS.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. LXXVIII, fol. 159.*

The Report of the Comm^r of his Ma^{ties} Customes to ye Lord Treasurer about Mr Randolphs being employed in New Engl^d.

The

The Commⁿ having receiued a lett^t from ye Hon^{ble} Mr Charles Bartie²⁴⁷ of ye 12th of Sep^t last whereby they are required to make further enquiry concerning Mr Randolph, they humbly offer that they haue accordingly made further enquiry concerning him, and soe farr as they are informed doe thinke him a person that may be fitt for that employement. Butt as to ye objection made against him by ye New Engl^d Agents as being obnoxious to the hatred of that Poeple. This being matter of State the Commⁿ can say nothing to it, butt humbly leave it to his Hon^t

V.

RANDOLPH'S PETITION FOR RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. XIII. fol. 174.*

To the Right hon^{ble} Henry Coventry, esq^r.
principal Secretary of State.

The humble pet^tion of Edward Randolph
late Agent for his Mai^{tie} in New England.

Sheweth.

That yo^r pet^t was the 11th of June²⁴⁸ on his way near the Royall Exchange London, arrested at the Sute of one Gawen Lawry

²⁴⁷ Charles Bertie (pronounced Bartie) was of the Earl of Lindsey's family, and was at this time secretary to the Lord Treasurer (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677, no. 205). He afterwards went as special envoy to Denmark and held various other offices of state. He died in 1710.

²⁴⁸ This may be either June 1678 or June 1679 — most likely the latter, the expedient of an arrest being a desperate one. At the same time it must be observed that Randolph does not speak of his voyage as in immediate prospect; and this may point to the earlier date.

Lawry ²⁴⁰ in an Action of 300^l. And for as much as the pretence of this affair hath laine asleep for Ten years and relates to business done in the North of Scotland yo^r pet^r did conceive that this prosecution was only malicious and to divert what he is now in prosecution of concerning New England, which matter is by Order of Councill to come before the Lords of the Committee of fforraigne plantations upon Thursday, as also the Judge. Therefore yo^r pet^r did expose to the Officers the passport given him by his Mai^{ie} for going to New England, also his Instructions attested by S^r Rob^r Southwell by order of the said Lords, and did acquaint them that he was now actually employed in giving an Accoⁿ of the said Message for the service and behoof of his Mai^{ie} — but hereof the said officers will take no notice/.

Wherefore yo^r pet^r humbly prays that yo^r honour would take this matter into consideration it having all the marks of a malicious prosecution. That soe he may bee by y^r honours means sett at liberty to attend the Committee as aforesaid.

And he shall ever pray/.

VI.

²⁴⁰ Gawen Lawry is plainly Gavin Lawrie, and the debt must be connected with Randolph's unsuccessful trip to Cromarty in 1667-1668. Cf. *supra*,

Vol. I. pp. 8, 9. A Gawen Lawrie is, however, mentioned as one of the purchasers of New Jersey from the Duke of York.

VI.

RANDOLPH TO HENRY THYNNE.

*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquess of Bath.
Coventry Papers, Vol. LXXVIII. fol. 432.*

Portsmouth upon the riuers
Piscataqua in New Eng^d
Jan. 6, 1679.

S: This onely giues you an account that I am here arrived safe from New York where I deliuered the inclosed as directed to S: Edm^d Andros. I have giuen Mr Secr^t the trouble of a letter from Boston and haue largely wrote to S: Robert Southwell the present state of affaires here. Euery discontented person here (as there are many) harken narrowly after disturbance in Engl^d which God defend. My life and the successe of my present undertakings wholy depend upon the prosperity of his Mast which pray God increase wth the presentment of my most humble service to Mr Secr^t and yrselfe I am

S:

Your most humble &

obedient seruant

E. RANDOLPH.

My seruice to Mr Cook

[*Endorsed*]

To the Hon^d

Henry Thynn Esq

Whitehall

per Capt^a [obliterated] commd^r
of the Sarah from New Engl^d

[*Enclosure*]

[*Enclosure*]To Major Andrews Govern'
of New Yorke.

Whitehall

Sep^t 26. 1679.

Sir,

This is by comānd from the King to desire you not onely to receive kindly M^t Randolph the bearer of this em-
ployed by his Maj. to New England but over and above to
give him all manner of advantages for his transportation
thither from your parts I know S^t your great Loyallty
would be a sufficient argument to affist any man so employed
but his Maⁿ Comānd is so superlative a one that I dare not
adde my own desires which are very great to fend this Gen-
tleman as one I think very worthy his Maⁿ favour.

I am

S^t Yr^t &c

H. COVENTRY.

VII.

RANDOLPH'S PETITION FOR LEAVE TO PROSECUTE APPEALS
IN ENGLAND.*Colonial Papers*, Vol. XLVI. no. 111 I.To the King's most Excellent Ma^{de}.

The humble Petition & Appeal of Edward Ran-
dolph Collector Surveyor and Searcher of Your
Ma^{de}'s Customs in New England.

Concerning feiz-
ure in N. Engld Sheweth

That your Petitioner in pursuance of the Laws of Trade
and Navigation did in the year 1680 at Boston and at sev-
erall

erall other places in New England in your Ma^{tie}'s name, make divers seizures of Ships and Vessells amounting to a considerable value and did prosecute the same in the Courts of Records in that Planta^con. That notwithstanding sufficient proofes were produced by your Petitioner at the Tryalls of the said Ships (a List whereof is herevnto annexed) yett the Jurys ag^t Law and Evidence did continually find and give damages against your Ma^{tie} wherepon (no Courts of Appeal being erected in that Plantation) your Pet^t did in your Ma^{tie}'s name Appeal to your Ma^{tie} in Councill, and likewise in your Ma^{tie}'s name moved that sufficient security might bee taken by the Court of the severall Defendants to answer your Ma^{tie} upon a rehearing of the said Cases when and where your Ma^{tie} shall bee graciously pleased to direct and appoint, but yo^t Pet^t was opposed by M^t Danforth Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, hee alledging that it was an infringem^t of their libertyes granted by Charter, w^{ch} is altogether false & groundlesse. So that your Pet^t could not have his Appeals entred or allowed of, or obtaine any security from the said Defendants, whereby your Ma^{tie} is greatly damaged; irregular Trade countenanced to the diminution of your Ma^{tie}'s Customes here in England and vast p^rjudice of this Kingdome and other your Ma^{tie}'s Dominions, for prevention whereof for the future.

Your Pet^t most humbly prays that your Ma^{tie} would give leave and directions to him to prosecute the said Appeals before your Ma^{tie} in Councill and that the Massachusetts may bee directed to answer the same. And that in order therevnto your Ma^{tie} would bee pleased to order the speedy examination of the annexed Articles against the said Danforth

forth for having openly resisted Your Ma^{tie}:s Authority, and as your Ma^{tie} shall find cause upon such examinacon to cause the said Danforth to bee sent for over to answer the same in Councill. To the end that if hee appear guilty, hee may receive the markes of your Ma^{tie}:s displeasure, and bee at least removed from such publick Offices of trust, wth hee hath long exercised in that Government to your Ma^{tie}:s great disservice.

And (as in duty bound) hee shall ever pray &c.

[*Endorsed*] Read in Councill Mar: 11: 1680
 Read at Com^{tee} Ap. 9: 1680

VIII.

RESOLUTION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL UPON RANDOLPH'S PETITION.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVI. nos. III, III I, II.

At the Councill chamber at Whitehall
 this Eleventh Day of March 1680

Upon reading this Day at the Board the aforesaid Petition; and Appeal of Edward Randolph Collector surveyour, and searcher of his Ma^{tie}:s Customes in New England together wth the Papers annext, His Ma^y was pleased to Order that they be and they are hereby referred to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of this Board for Trade, and Plantations, to consider thereof, and to report to his Ma^y in Councill what they thinke fitt for his Ma^y to doe therein, that thereupon his Ma^y may declare his further pleasure.

PHILLOYD.

[*Endorsed*] Read at Com^{tee}
 9 Ap: 1680

IX.

IX.

ARTICLES AGAINST DANFORTH EXHIBITED BY RANDOLPH.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVI. no. 111 II.

Articles of high misdemeanour exhibited ag^t Thomas Danforth Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Colony and pretended President of the Province of Maine in New England by Edward Randolph Collector of the Cus-
tomes there.

1. That the said Thomas Danforth in open Court in Boston in or about June last did declare that the Laws of Trade and Navigation, nor the powers of the Commⁿ of the Cus-
tomes were of any force in that Colony.
2. That the said Thomas Danforth in divers Tryalls upon Seizures made by the said Edward Randolph in His Ma^{tie}'s name, did refuse to admitt of Appeals to His Ma^{tie} in Councill.
3. That the said Thomas Danforth would not suffer the said Edward Randolph to prosecute in His Ma^{tie}'s name any Seizures, untill 10th was deposited to defray Court charges in Boston, and afterwards procured an Order to passe to that effect, contrary to the Laws of England.
4. That the said Thomas Danforth did usurp a Gov-
ernm^t over His Ma^{tie}'s Subjects in the Province of Maine introducing the Laws of the Massachusetts contrary to the Charter granted to S: Ferdinando Gorges and imprisoned one of the Inhabitants because hee, with most of the Loyall party in that Province, did protest against the proceedings of the said Danforth, not producing any Order or Authority from His Ma^{tie} for his soe Governing in that Province.

5.

5. That the said Thomas Danforth as President of the said Province of Maine did by his Letter Arbitrarily oblige the said Edward Randolph to deposit 10[£] at a Court held at York in the said Province in November last to defray the charges of the Court, before hee could proceed to Tryall, no Law or Usage in that Province directing therevnto.

6. That about August last hee the said Thomas Danforth, with Sam^l Noel, M^r Saltenstall and M^r Gidney Magistrates with a foot Company of Pressed Soldiers (divers whereof were then in His Ma^{tie}'s actuall service) entred the said Province of Maine, Erected a Fort under pretence to defend the same, but was in effect to settle a Trading-House, and to secure the new Plantations by themselves allotted to one another.

7. That the said Thomas Danforth with the said Magistrates going by Sea from Boston to the said Province of Maine, did carry His Ma^{ties} Flagg on Main-Topp and fired at a Vessell from Virginia, and forced her to strike, being then above a League without Command of the Castle

In regard the Evidence to these Articles are speedily designed to returne for New England, It is humbly prayed a short day may bee sett, for their attendance to give Testimony therein.

[*Endorsed*] Read in Councill 11 Mar: 1680
 Read at Com^{tee} Ap. 9: 1680

X.

RANDOLPH [TO JENKINS] SUGGESTING CULPEPPER AS
GOVERNOUR-GENERAL.*Colonial Papers*, Vol. XLVI. no. 130.Whitehall, April 30th 1681.Right Hon^{ble}.

Takeing it for granted, That y^e Bostoners haue vacated y^{er} Charter by removeing themselues, their Charter, and y^e intire Execution thereof to New England when as they were made a Corporation to act here in England like that of Bermodos &c^a as also that their former Misdemeanours (as denying Appeals to his Maj^y neglecting his Lawes & Royall Commands, and Coining mony, confess'd by their Agents in y^r Petition to his Maj^y do contain matter sufficient to avoid their Charter, as by S^r Will Jones, & S^r Francis Winnington's ²⁰⁰ opinion thereupon doth appear: What remaines then but that his Majesty may take the same methods of proceedings with them, as now wth y^e Corpora^con of Bermodos,²⁰¹ and formerly with the Charter granted to y^e Corpora^con of Virginia, when as it is a thing of such absolute Neceffity both in Relation to the Crown, and the peace and Security of that whole Plantation, to be effected without Charge to his Maj^y or disturbance to y^e private Concerns of

y^e

²⁰⁰ Jones and Winnington were respectively Attorney and Solicitor General, 1675-1679. Their opinion is given *supra*, Vol. III. p. 4.

²⁰¹ The Bermudas had been in the hands of a Company in London. A Quo Warranto or, as the islanders called

it, a "Coranto" was issued against this body in February, 1681; but judgment was not entered for the King till November, 1684. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1681-1685*, nos. 25, 1967, 1972, etc.



y^e Inhabitants there: From whence will arise many and great advantages both to his Maj^y, to his Revenue, & this Kingdome in gen^l w^{ch} I humbly propose and referr to y^e Lord^s Consideration.

1. It will bring y^e Colony of y^e Massachusets to a nearer dependance and Submission to his Maj^s Lawes & Authority, and will confirm y^e Neighbouring Colonyes in y^e already profess'd Allegiance & Duty.

2. All y^e Colonies being 5 in number vnder one gen^l Goverm^t will be more serviceable to y^e Crown, and y^e better enabled to secure y^mselues and Neighbouring Plantations against any forreign Invasion or Domestick attempts; all of them at present being independent, not one Goverm^t haueing authority, or Influence vpon another in Civill or Military Affaires.

3. It will render that whole Plantation of singuler use, & service to y^e other his Maj^s forreign Plantations by supplying them plentifully with all sorts of Stores and Provisions without w^{ch} they cannot subsist in case the French should prove troublesome, and put a stopp vpon Our West India Trade, and Navigation.

4. This Country being settled vnder an immediate Authority from the Crown will afford his Maj^y large Supplyes of Well seasoned men and Provisions, for the reduceing any of his forreign Plantations w^{ch} shall dare to mutiny, and also if a Breach should happen betwixt any of the Neighbouring Princes, his Maj^y may easily at Boston victuall his Friggatts, and raife men out of the severall Colonyes to giue a Diverion, and also make himself master of their Plantations and Colonies, when he pleaseth; not to be practised by either

French

French or Spanish, who to this day send their Magazeen Shipps to all their Plantations from Europe with Stores & Necessaries.

5. New England, well settled, will supply us at home with all sorts of Navall Stores, as masts, Yards, Plank, Oake, Timber, Pitch, Tarr, &c^t at reasonable Rates, in case any Stopp, or Prohibition should bee made in the Sound ²²² of these Commodities.

6. This will make all other his Maj^t forreign Plantations quiet who haue from y^r example attempted often the fame Liberty in Trade, when they plainly see New England comprized vnder the same Lawes, and Restrictions in Commerce with themselues.

And Lastly this will absolutely dissolute, and cut off all Correspondence betwixt y^r Phanaticks at home, and the Factious party in that Country, which to my Knowledge is still maintained, and vpon the opinion that New England will be a good Retreat for them, the discontented here highly value themselues, and are proude in their Numbers.

His Maj^r can never expect a more convenient oportunity & Invitation for settling this Country then what at this time doth present, for now the other Colonyes formerly their Confederates are fallen off, not longer enduring their Encroachments in respect of Boundaries, nor their Imposi- tions lately laid vpon y^r Produce of their severall Colonies by the generall Court at Boston. neither do they find it rea- sonable to be involued in the Mischiefs, which they belieue may

²²² The sound or main paassage be- could thus control the timber trade of tween Denmark and Sweden was at this the Baltic. time in the hands of the Danes, who

may be y^e Consequence of such, and so often repeated Dis-Loyalty, besides y^e very Colony is divided in itself for y^e Governour, one part of the Magistrates, with y^e Ministry, are willing, and haue all along voted for a dutifull Submif-
 sion to his Majst Commands as by their Petition in 1666 ²²³ doth appear, another party of them inconsiderate in Estates, or Repute, exceeding in numb^r onely overvote y^e Govern^t &c^a in all publique Meetings, accounting him, and that party Betrayers of Liberty of y^e Country granted by Charter, which is one great Cause of the vnhappy Misvnderstanding betwixt his Majst and that Colony: However they all agree that, the Inhabitants shall be taxed to raise nigh 5000^l to defray the purchase of y^e Province of Maine, and y^e Expences of their late Agents in England, besides to defray the growing Charge of M^t Danforth's Expedition, and maintaining a Garrison of Soldiers to secure thos Allotments of Land wth M^t Danforth and others of y^e Magistracy haue made to themselues out of the Province of Maine, for the Purchase whereof neither they, nor any perfon in publick Office in that Colony haue expended one penny, wth with y^e Law for laying an Excife vpon all Liueing Stock brought out of other Colonies to that of the Massachufetts hath so incensed the people, that at my comeing away they were in very high discontent, and expect after their so many Complaints, and the late opposition made by a party in the Magistracy against his Majst Lawes in open Court, that at least a Regulation of
 the

²²³ This petition, which is alluded to *“Short Narrative” of 20th September, supra, Vol. II. p. 223*, is given at length 1676, *supra, Vol. II. p. 216.* by Randolph as an appendix to his

the Goverm^t may follow, otherwife nothing remaines for them, but to leaue y^e Place, which cannot be done, but with their apparent Ruine.

No Ship, or Force is required to the effecting of what is already proposed, onely y^e advance of so much mony as is necessary in y^e Regulation of y^e Trade of that Colony, but onely the profsecuting these following Methods, by w^{ch} a Compleat Conformity may vndoubtedly be expected.

1. M^t Attorney Gen^l to bring a Quo: Warr^o against y^e Govern^t and Company of y^e Massachufetts Bay &c^a and a Distringas vpon the Province of Maine owned by themselues, the estate of the Corporation.

2. His Maj^t Com^{ee} vnder y^e great Seal directed to the present Govern^t, M^t Stroughton, M^t Dudly, Maj^t Gen^l Denison, M^t Buckley, Maj^t Savage, M^t Pinchon, M^t Saltenstall Jun^t all in the present Magistracy, and M^t Lines, M^t Shrimpton, M^t Warton, M^t Kellond, & M^t Sheaf, and M^t Wait Winthrop (men of good estates, and very well esteemed in y^e Colony) be joined to them to settle a temporary Goverm^t like that in New Hampshire with Instructions &c^a vntill a finall determination be had in this matter.

3. That his Maj^t be pleased to declare his Readines to grant a gen^l pardon, Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, and that no man shall be dispossess'd of his Legall Rights, and Proprieties.

4. That no Law made in that Plantation be of force, nor no mony be raised vpon Inhabitants (except in case of imminent danger by Invasion, or otherwife) but by his Maj^t Consent, & allowance.

That Maj^t Shapleigh, Cap^a Champernoon, M^t Wheelwright,

wright, Mr. Blackman, M: Rushworth, formerly Justices of Peace, and Managers of M: Gorges Patent, being put out by the Bostoners, were restored by his Maj^a Comm^a in 1665, and since displaced by the Bostoners late purchase, may by his Maj^a Letters be directed as formerly.

All which Proposalls as Preliminaryes if his Maj^a be pleased to direct and committ to my Conduct I do not question but to giue a satiisfactory account, and then vpon my Advice thereof to England no man is so fitt to vnder-take y^e intire Settlem: and vniteing all y^e small Colonies & Goverm^a in one as my Lord Culpepper,²⁴ whose great services in reduceing Virginia, and hon^{ble} deport in New England dureing his stay there hath gained to his Lordship a mighty respect amongst all good men there; and had his Lordship brought with him but Instructions tending to any sort of Regulation of their Goverm^a I question not but in y^e time of his Lordshipp's being vpon y^e place he might haue effected y^e design with ease and Succes.

Y^r Lord^s

most humble & most
obedient Seru^t

ED. RANDOLPH.

30 Apr. 81.

XI.

²⁴ For a curious indication of the connection between the families of Randolph, Southwell, and Culpepper, cf. Hasted, *History of Kent*, Vol. II. p. 169 (Manor of Aylesford): "Sir Robert Southwell Knt by his deed dated May 27 in the 40th year of Queen Elizabeth

A: 1597 alienated this manor to Edward Randolph and Richard Argale and their heirs and they both joined in the sale of it January 20, in the 2nd year of King James I. to Sir Thomas Colepepyr," etc.

XI.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST RANDOLPH FOR ENFORCING THE ACTS
OF TRADE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.*Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVI. no. 133 I.*17th Ditto [March].

M^r Edward Randolph came before y^e Council, informing them, y^t he had seized a Ship in y^e River for y^e King: And y^e Master at y^e same time complaining, that M^r Randolph had done him much iniury to stop his Vessel, when he had broken no Law of His Ma^r in any kind. For y^e issuing whereof M^r Randolph desired a Trial by a Jury. Which was granted him provided both partys would ioin issue, & bind themselvs in 50^l bond a peece, with sufficient security to pay all costs of the Suit.

18th ditto The said Master came before y^e Council, & desired that there might be an issue of his case. Whereupon y^e Council sent to M^r Randolph to acquaint him with y^e Masters sollicitation for an issue; who appear'd, and desired a copy of some papers y^t the said Master left with the Council yesterday (as he said they promised him). The Council reply'd; That if he would enter his Action, & come to a Trial, he might have any copies that were with them; or if said Randolph would give a copy of his papers & parchments he had show'd y^e Council and receivd back again, y^t y^e Master might have y^m as he desired: els they thought it but reason, y^t y^e Master should have his papers agen, without giving copies, as M^r Randolph had his.

On

On Petiſon of Mark Hunkyn^{**} Maſt^r of y^e Ketch Providence, That the Councel would be pleaf'd to grant a ſpecial Court; for y^e iſſuing of y^e diſference between himſelf & M^r Randolph, about y^e ſeizure of his veſſel; The Councel grants the Petiſon his Petiſon, & appoints Tuesday next to hear y^e Caſe; & Orders y^r a Warrant be given by y^e Secretary to y^e Conſtable of Portſmouth, to ſumon a Jury (out of his Pre- cińcts) of 12 men, to attend y^r ſervice on y^r day by nine a clock in y^e morning.

Mark Hunkyn binds himſelf to y^e Treaf^r of this Province, in a bond of Ten pounds, to pay all y^e charge of y^e Siut, while in Trial.

The Councel Orders: That ye preſent Secretary ſhal grant all Warrants & Attachments, until they ſhal take further Order.

At a Special Court held in Portſmouth in
New Hampshire, by y^e Prefid^r & Councel,
y^r 23^d of March 1648 being Tueſd=

The Jury legally callcd, & ſworn.

M ^r Nathaniel Fryer.	M ^r John Fletcher.
M ^r John Hincks.	M ^r Samuel Kaines.
M ^r George Jefferie.	John Tucker,
M ^r Thomas Harvy.	Obadiah Morse.
M ^r John Shepway.	Richard Jackson.
M ^r Reuben Hull.	Nehemiah Partridg.

Liberty

^{**} Mark Hunking is the perfon wrongl^y deſcribed elsewhere (*Supra*, Vol. III. p. 84, etc.), as Mark Hawkins^r. A John Hunkyn is mentioned in a part of the ſame document, not here printed. Many more details of proceedings of a fimilar kind are printed in the *New Hampshire Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII. pp. 62, 112, 118, 159.

Liberty granted to y^e Pt & Deft. to challenge any of y^e Jury; Neither Pt. nor Deft obiected against any, but declared themselves satisfied.

Mark Hunkyn Comand^t of y^e Ketch Providence Pt, against Edward Randolph Esq^r Deft. in an Accon of y^e Case, for going aboard y^e said Ketch & putting y^e Broad arrow upon his mast, reporting he had seised y^e said Ketch as forfeited to y^e King; thereby obstructing his voyage & causing him to ly upon demurrage, to his great damage.

The Case was pleaded in y^e Presidents houſe, & all y^e evidences read, that the Pt. & Deft. had to say: & then committed to y^e Jury.

Jury find for ye Pt Five pound Six ſhill Eight pence damages: & coſts of Court Eight po^d Two ſhill & Six pence mony. Execuſon granted y^e 4th Novemb^r 1680

The Councel Orders; That M^r Randolph ſhal have all his papers and parchments he put into Court, in y^e Case between him & Mark Hunkyn; The Secretary taking copies, & keep on file.

Edward Randolph Esq^r being called before y^e Councel, to anſwer for his ſaying, when he was pleading of his Case ag^t Mark Hunkyn, being ask'd where y^e Earl of Danby was: Answer'd, that he was hang'd for ought he knew. The which y^e Councel takes as a great reſlection upon ſuch a great Minister of State.

Unto which M^r Randolph ſaid by way of acknowledgment, that it was a ſudden & rafh ſpeech, being ſpoken in ſuch a public Affembly, & was ſorry for it, & desired it might be paſt by. Wherewith the Councel was ſatisfied, & diſmiff'd him.

March 24th 1680

Capt^a Walter Barefoot appearing before y^e Council, & examined, by what power he set up a paper on y^e Great Island concerning Customs to be entred with him; or whether he did set up such a paper there, that all persons should enter with him; Answered, that he did set up such a paper, & must own it.

Dismiss'd, & Ordered to appear to morrow.

25th ditto

Capt^a Walter Barefoot appearing before y^e Council, his Inditement was read unto him.

That you have in a high & presumptuous manner, set up his Ma^a Office of Customs, declared it by a paper in a public place on y^e Great Island, for all persons concerned to come to make their entrys wth you at their peril; not having leav first from y^e Presid^e & Council of this Province so to do. Which shews high Contempt, being since His Ma^a Authority was set up in this place.

That hereby you have disturbed & obstructed His Ma^a Subjects, both in greater, & smaller Vessels, & such as pass but from Town to Town, & harbor to harbor near adioining, on their occasions, but must enter & take their passes with, & from you; as proved by Testimony.

Your peremptory answers, that when any Question was asked you, you would answer, My name is Walter.

Sentence, to pay a Fine of Ten pounds in mony forthwith, & stand committed til it be paid.

The Council Ordered, That Capt^a Barefoot shal have his Commission agen & his instructions he receivd from M^r Randolph returned him, y^e Secretary taking copies of them.

XII.

XII.

RANDOLPH'S COMPLAINTS OF IRREGULARITY AGAINST
AUTHORITIES BOTH COLONIAL AND ENGLISH.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVII. no. 50.

(Read 12 Sept: 1681)

An acc^t of y^e Proceedings of y^e Goverm^t & Inhabitants of Boston & Portsmouth in New England, Relating to the office of y^e Collect^t of his Maj^t Customes there from Dec: 20: 1679 to January 20th 1680 by Edw: Randolph his Maj^t Collect^t there.

1. His Maj^t Commission vnd^t y^e great Seal for administering y^e Oath to y^e Governor at Boston directing y^e observation of y^e Acts of Trade &c: was not executed as required

2. At a Tryall of y^e Pink Expecta^ton of Boston M^t Danforth Deputy Gov^t openly in Court disowned y^e Authority of y^e Comm^t of his Maj^t Customes in that Colony, and would not admitt y^e said Randolph to prosecute as deputed by them, but as Informer onely, and so he stands recorded.

3. Juries are sworn to proceed in Tryalls according to Evidence and y^e Lawes of y^t Country, the Acts of Trade are not declared or owned as y^e Lawes of that Colony.

4. The said Randolph being cast notwithstanding he produced very clear Evidence in Tryalls of Seizures did appeal to his Maj^y in Councill, but his Appeals would not be allowed of.

5. Masters of Ships and Vessells enter to & from what Port

Port they please, and report the Loading accordingly, refusing to take an oath.

6. The said Randolph being certainly informed That prohibited goods were landed in a Warehouse in Boston, y^e Gov^r refused to grant a Warrant to search for and seize them.

7. Persons deputed by y^e said Randolph are imprisoned and fined if vpon duty in y^e night, and some severely beaten. One imprisoned at Portsmouth, and forced to pay a fine of 10^l for accepting a Deputation.

8. Mutinies were raised amongst y^e people to disturbe y^e said Randolph in y^e Execution of his Duty in Boston; at Portsmouth he was to be prosecuted as a Felon for seizing prohibited goods, but escaped.

9. The Gov^r of Guernsey granted a Passe to the Barke Gaift of God to go to Cadiz w^t she was bound for Piscataqua in New Hampshire.

10. Officers of the Customes at Minhead, & Carliel grant false Certificates to vessells bound from Scotland, and Ireland to New England as by Copyes thereof doth appear.

11. His Maj^t Letters signed by the Lords of the Treāry, and sent to Boston by the Comm^r of his Maj^t Customes w^t Proclamaçons to put the Lawes of Trade in Execution were not made publick as required, belieuing no Lawes of England to bee in force amongst them till they haue declared y^m the Lawes of y^t Colony.

12. Seizures being made if not immediately prosecuted the said Randolph is arrested for damages, if a Court be called for a prefent Tryall he must deposit 10^l in Court before he be admitted to prosecute.

For

For Prevention whereof for y^e future — It's
humbly proposed

1. That all masters of shippes, and vessells outwards, and inwards bound, do enter with Maj^{ts} Officer, and make their Report vpon oath at convenient hours, & place appointed.
2. That Nantasket 2 Leagues from Boston be declared to bee wthin the Port of Boston, and that the Isles of Shoales, and both fides of y^e River Piscataqua with y^e Creekes thereof bee declared within y^e Port of Portsmouth.
3. That Cape Ann Harbour & Marble head be declared in the Port of Salem according as is directed in y^e 14th of the King for preventing Frauds.
4. That no Ship or Vessell be permitted to passe y^e Castle or Forts in that Country, till they haue been duely visited, & certifyed by his Maj^{ts} Officers.
5. That all Vessells comeing from Holland, Scotland and Ireland bring Certificates with pticulars of what goods they haue duly cleered in England &c^a
6. That his Maj^{ts} Officers & Dep^{tes} haue Liberty at all times in the night to attend their Duty without disturbance, and that none be sued or molested to prevent their performing of their Trust; and that they may be impowered to demand aide of Constable or Officer to affist in opening Doores, and to seize, and search for prohibited goodes, and secure them till a Tryall.
7. That they haue power by Comm^{ts} from y^e Admirallity to go off to sea aboard Shipps comeing within the Capes, and to bring such into Port who refuse to produce their clearings.
8. That the Officers of y^e Customes in his Maj^{ts} forreign Plantations

Plantations do giue perticuler Certificates of y^e enumerated Commodities shipped off thence to any port in New England expressing therein the true quantity and quality of y^e Goods so shipped off and that they do not admitt of y^e vnloading any European Goodes brought from New England without a Certificate that such Goods haue been made appear to his Maj^{ts} Officer in New England to be duly cleered in England &c^a as the Law requires.

9. That severall persons in Boston and Portsmouth be proceeded ag^t vpon the 14th of the King for openly opposeing his Maj^{ts} Officer in y^e execution of his Duty.

10. That no French or other Strangers, Ships, or Vessells vnder p^tence of Distresse comeing into any of y^e Ports in New England be permitted to wood & water &c^a without the knowledge of his Maj^{ts} Officer, and come vnder command, receiving a Waiter aboard during their stay in that Country.

Com^r of y^e Customs

[*Endorsed*] Report from y^e Comiss^rs
of y^e Customs touching
New England

Read the 12th of Sept.

1681

XII A.

XII A.

THE COMMISSIONERS' REPORT AND ACTION IN THE
MATTER.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVII. no. 51.

(Read Sept. 12: 1681.)

May it please your Lo^{ps}?

[*Inserted*] (Report of y^e Comissⁿ of y^e Customes concerning
the observation of the Acts of Trade & Navigation in New
Engl^d.)

In Obedience to the Com^{nds} of the Lords Commⁿ of his
Mast Treāry signified to us by M^t Guy in his Letter of the
11^o July last Requiring us to Consider of a pap therein
inclosed concerning New England and Report our Opinion
thereupon in writing to your Lo^{ps}.

Wee doe humbly report to your Lo^{ps} That Wee haue
considered the said pap wth is hereunto annexed, and dis-
coursed with M^t Randolph about the Contents thereof; And
as to the first part wherein hee faith, That His Ma^{ry} Comis-
sion vnder the Great Seale for administring the oath to the
Govern^t of Boston directing the Observaçon of the Acts of
Trade &c^a was not executed as required

The said M^t Randolph doth allege, That the Commis-
sioneⁿ appointed & Impowered by His Mast Letter's Patents
to administer the said Oath were not admitted to Execute the
same in manner and forme according to the purport and
Tenor thereof which was that any of the said Comm^t
therein nominated should haue power to administer the said
oath, But that it was over ruled by the Court then fitting
and

and thereby Ordered, That the said oath should bee admistred and accordingly It was done by the hands of the Secretary, who by Order of the Court kept the Commission.

And the said M^t Randolph doth likewise informe us, That in May 1680 M^t Broadstreet being Elected Governo^r for the yeare following neither himself nor any other of the Com^m except such as were Magistrates were present at or were made acquainted with the Governo^r: taking the said oath, soe that whether hee was sworne or not the said Randolph cannot Informe us, And how farre this may bee deemed a Contempt of his Ma^t Authority, and consequently how necessary 'tis that His Ma^t Resentment hereof should bee signified to the Governo^r Wee humbly leave to your Lo^{pp}s

As to the second Article in the said pap, That at the Tryall of the Pinke Expecta^con of Boston M^t Danforth Dep^t Governo^r openly in Court disowned the Authority Of the Comm^m of his Ma^t Custome's in that Colonie, and would not admit the said Randolph to prosecute as deputed by them, but as Informer only; and soe hee stands Recorded.

Wee doe humbly acquaint yo^r Lo^{pp}s That by an Act made in the 25^o yeare of his Ma^t Reigne feuerall Rates and Duty's are Imposed upon the Planta^con Goods therein Ennumerated wch said rates and duties are to bee caused to be Leavied by the Comm^m of the Custome's in England for the time being by and under the Authority and Direc^con of the Lord Tre^r of England, or Com^m of the Tre^ry for the time being, And in purfuance of the said Law and the direc^con of the Lord Tre^r Danby, Wee did impower the said Randolph by a Deputa^con under Our handes and Seales to

Collect

Collect the said duty's and by perticular Instruccons, Wee did amongst other things require him to cause the Act of Trade made in the 15th of the King to bee put in due Execucon phibiting the Importaçon of Europæan Goods into any of his Ma: Plantaçons except such as shall bee shipt, or laden in England And Wee understand by the said M: Randolph that the seizure and prosecucon of the said Pink was grounded upon that later Law and Our said Instruccons, and soe 'twas a good seizure by what appeare's to us, but hee had noe more power to feize and prosecute the said Pinke singly upon the Authority of Our Comission or Deputaçon (which is only founded upon the Act of the 25^o of the King) then any other perfon.

To the third perticular, That Juries are sworne to pceed in trialls according to Evidence and the Law's of that Country, That the Acts of Trade are not declared or owned as the Law's of that Colonie

It is alleaged by the said M: Randolph, That although the Court held at Boston the 26^o of October 1677 has made an Order, That the Acts of Trade and Navigaçon be exactly and punctualy Obserued and Executed in that Colonie, Yet noe Lawe or Order is understood to bee bindeing there but such as are pclaimed by Beat of Drum and other Formalities there vsed, and by reason that this order was neuer published in that method, The Juries haue therefore refused to finde thereupon as wee are informed by him; Wee are therefore of Opinion that 'tis absolutely necessary that the Governour bee required to cause a due publicaçon of the said Law's, with all the formalities, that they may bee owned the Law's of the Country.

To

To the fourth Complaining, That the said Randolph being cast notwithstanding hee pduced very cleare Evidence in Trialls of Seizures did appeale to his Ma^y in Councill but his Appeals would not bee allow'd of.

This being matter of Law, Wee humbly leauie it to his Ma^u Council learned.

To the Fifth Complaining that Masters of Ships and vef-sells enter to and from what Ports they please, and report the Lading accordingly, Refusing to take an Oath

Wee doe humbly acquaint your Lo^{pp}: That noe masters are by Law obliged to make Entry of their ships upon Oath, but such only as come to New England with any of the Ennumerated Planta^con Goods, Or there Load them for some other place, and on failure hereof they incurre the penalty of One hundred poundes, and are lyable to bee pse-cuted for the same

To the sixth perticular Complaining That upon a Cer-taine Informa^con of phibited Goods landed in a Warehouse at Boston, the Governo^r refused to Grant a warrant to search for and seize the same

(quere whether the power granted in ye Com-mission will not reach to goods landed.)

The said M^r Randolph doth acknowledge that 'tis neither the Law or practice of the Country to iffue out such war-rants. But Wee doe humbly Acquaint your Lo^{pps}, That by the Act for pventing Frauds and regulating abuies in his Ma^u Customes made in the 14^o yeare of his Ma^u Reign, It is pvided, that it shall and may bee lawful to or for any per-son or persons Authorized by writt of Affistance under the Seale of his Ma^u Court of Exchecq₃, to take a Constable, Headborough, or other publiq₃ officer inhabiting neere vnto the

the place, and in the day time to enter, and goe into any house, shop, Cellar, warehouse or roome, or other place, and in Case of resistance, to breake open doores, Chests, Truncks, and other package, there to seize, and from thence to bring any kinde of Goods or merchandize whatsoeuer, phibited and vncustomed, and put and secur the same in his Ma^g Storehouse, in the port next to the place where such Seizure shall bee made; And how farre your Lo^{ps} may thinke it convenient That the Governm^t of New England be required to giue the same Ayde and Assitance is humbly submitted.

As to seaventh Article alleaging, That persons deputed by the said Randolph are Imprisoned and fined if upon duty in the night, and some severly beaten, one Imprisoned at Portsmouth and forced to pay a Fine of Tenn pounds for accepting a deputaçon.

The said M^t Randolph informe's us, that the Law of the Country prouides that noe person shall be abroad in the streets after ten a Clock at night, and wee understand by him, that the imposing a Fine of Tenn pounds upon his Deputy is now depending before the King, and will bee iffued there

To the Eighth particular concerning Mutinyes which were raised amongst the people to disturb the said Randolph in the Execuçon of his duty in Boston, At Portsm^o hee was to bee prosecuted as a felon but escaped

For proose hereof the said M^t Randolph produceth the affidauites of one Mathew's & others, But withall saith, That hee neuer proceeded against any of the Mutineer's by impleading them in any Court of Judicature being aduised there

there unto by the Governo^r, Therefore Wee humbly offer it, Whether it may not bee necessary for his Ma^r to take notice thereof by Letter to the Governo^r and require him, That hee indeauor as much as possible to repell such Mutinies and punish such as shall be guilty for the Future.

To the 9th Article Informing that the Governo^r of Guernsey granted a passe to the Bark Gift of God to goe to Cadiz, when shee was bound for Piscattaqua in New Hampshire.

Tis possible in such Case, That the Governo^r may bee deluded, And wee know not how the same can easily be preuented.

As to the tenth Article alleging, That the Officers of the Custom's at Minhead and Carlisle grant false Certificates to vessels bound from Scotland and Ireland to New England.

Wee humbly acquaint your Lo^{pp}s, That wee formerly made a discouery of this Fraud in one of our officers at Minhead, and for that and other misdemeano^r dismissed him, & for the future hope there will bee noe such Ground of Complaint.

To the 11th Article informing, That his Ma^r Letteres signed by the Lords of the Treāry and sent to Boston by the Comm^{ee} of his Ma^r Customes with Proclamaōons to put the Lawe's of Trade in Execuōon were not made publique as required believing noe Lawe's of England to bee in force amongst them 'till they haue declared them the Law's of that Colonie

This is already menōned in the third particular, And wee humbly pray your Lo^{pp}s to bee referr'd thereunto.

To the 12th and last particular Complaining That seizures being made, if not imediately psecuted the said Randolph is arrested

arrested for damages, If a Court bee called for present Tryall hee must deposit Tenn pounds in Court before hee bee admitted to psecute.

Wee are informed by the said Randolph, That this is the practice of the Country, and that the hardship complain'd of is Gen^t to all others in the like Cases.

Wee doe farther acquaint your Lo^{ps}, That wee haue also Considered the Paper of Proposals offered by the said M^t Randolph for the preventing of the feuerall matters complain'd of. And

1. As to the first pposal That all masters of ships and vessells outwards and inwards bound doe enter with his Ma^{re} officer and make their report upon oath at Convenient houres and places appointed

This is already represented in the 5th head and wee haue nothing farther to add.

2. That Nantasket two leagues from Boston be declared to be within the Port of Boston, and that the Isles of Shoales, and both sides of the River Piscataqua with the Creeks thereof be declared within the Port of Portsmouth.

Wee doe humbly acquaint your Lo^{ps}, That all the Creeks and havens of England, are by Comission out of the Excheq^u set out and prescribed under their distin^t head port to which each belongs

3. That Cape Anne harbour, and Marble-head bee declared in the port of Salem according as is directed in the 14^o of the King for preventing Frauds

Wee doe humbly acquaint your Lo^{ps}, That the said Act pvides only for setting out the bounds and Lymits of the Ports of England, But the said M^t Randolph doth informe

us,

us, That if there were an Act made in New England, for setting out the bounds and Lymits of the Ports, and appointing and setling certain places for landing and shipping off goods and merchandizes in like manner as is done in England it would be very much for his Mast Seruice.

4ly That noe ship or vessell bee permitted to passe the Castle or Forts in that Country 'till they haue been duely visited and Certified by his Mast Officer.

Wee doe humbly informe your Lo^{ps}, That the Officers haue noe such power here in England .

5^{ly} That all vessells coming from Holland Scotland and Ireland bring Certificats of what Goods they haue duely cleared in England &c.

This is in practice already and if any goods of Europe are imported into New England without Certificates, or other dispatches from England, the said Mr Randolph has sufficient ground of seizure

6^{ly} That his Mast officers and deputy's haue Liberty, at all times in the night to attend their duty without disturbance, and that none bee sued or molested to prevent their performing of their trust, And that they may bee Impowered to demand Ayde of Constable or Officers to assist in opening doores, and to seize and search for prohibited Goods, and secure them 'till Tryall

This is represented before in our answser upon the sixth and seaventh head.

7^{ly} That they may haue power by Comission from the Admiralty to goe off to sea aboard ships, coming within the Capes, and to bring such into Port, who refuse to produce their Clearings.

Wee

Wee know of noe such practice as this in England, and what the Consequence thereof may bee cannot bee foreseen, and wee cannot recomēnd of it to your Lo^r Approbacon.

8^b That the officers of the Custome's in his Ma^r For-
igne Plantacons doe giue perticular Certificates of the
Enumerated Comodity's shipt of thence to any Port in
New England expressing therein the true quantity and
qualitye of the Goods soe shipt off, and that they doe not
admit of the unloading of any Europæan Goods brought
from New England without a Certificate that such Goods
haue been made appeare to his Ma^r officer in New England
to bee duely cleared in England &c^a as the Law directs.

The seuerall Officers in the respectiue Plantacons haue
perticular Instruccons and direccons from us to seize any
goods as come to any of the Plantacons without such Cer-
tificates; And the said M^r Randolph has direccons to doe
the like as to such Goods coming to New England; And If
any Merchants doe neglect to take out such Certificats 'tis
their owne fault

9^b That seuerall persons in Boston and Portsmouth bee
pceeded against upon the 14th of the King for openly oppose-
ing His Ma^r Officer in the Execucon of his duty

This is uery requisite and necessary to be done, and as it
appeares to us warrantable by the faid Law.

10^b That noe French or other Strangers ships or vessells
under pretence of distres comeing into any of the Ports in
New England be permitted to wood and water &c^a without
the knowledge of his Ma^r Officer, and come under Comand
receiving a waiter on Board during their stay in that
Country

Wee

Wee thinke this a great hardship, and against the treatys
of all Princes in Amitye with his Ma^y. All which is hum-
bly submitted to your Lo^r consideraçon

CH. CHEYNE
JOHN UPTON
W BUTLER

Customehouse London

30 Aug^t 1681

[*Endorsed*] Report touching M^r Randolph & matters in New England.

XIII.

RANDOLPH'S DEPOSITION ABOUT THE SHIP HOPE.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLVIII. no. 92.

Edward Randolph Esq^r Collector of His Maj^{ies} Customes in
New England; doth depose

That vpon the 16th day of may last he went to the Gou'no^r
house and he saw the entry of John Place in the Gouerno^r
Booke of Entry^r in these words viz^t The Ship Hope of Bos-
ton John Place master arrived from maderar^t 16th (3^d) laden
wyth thirty pipes of Marmasee which the Governo^r was
pleased to tell me was made by sayd Place some time after
dinner (as sayd deponent believes) where vpon the sayd
deponent about two howers after went aboard sayd ship
Hope, and enquired for the master. A person who sayd he
was mate told me he was ashore; sayd deponent asked sayd
mate whence the ship, and what loading she brought; sayd
mate sayd from Maderars and that then she had nothing in
her

her hold but ballast; then sayd deponent looked doun into the hold & saw nothing there but ballast; and as he remembers some part of a Cable Coyled vp; then sayd deponent seized the sayd ship for his Maj^{ys} & further faith not.

ED. RANDOLPH Colt

Boston in New England

June 2^d 1682

Depos'd in Court 2^d June 1682

Attest Edw^r Rawson Secret

That this is A true Copie Compar'd word for word wth the originall on file Attest Edward Rawson Secret.

[*Endorsed*] E Randolph depositio
about y^e Ship Hope
June 2: 1682
B. A. N^o 15

XIV.

ACTION OF THE COURT AT BOSTON IN THE MATTER OF THE SHIP HOPE.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLIX. no. 52.

At a Court of Affistants held in Boston Sep^t 5. 1682
Vpon an information on his Ma^{ies} behalf brought against
the Pink Good hope of Boston & seized by Edw^d Randolph
Collector for breach of y^e Act for encouraging of shipping &
navigation made in ye 12th yeare of y^e King for hauing Rob:
Wallis a Scotchman born to be her Master & y^e said Pink
being then in y^e possession of said Wallis as M^r & Owner
thereof

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thereof as also that the said M^r had not giuen bond as required in ye said Law.

There appeared in Court vpon ye 8th day of this instant Sep^t: M^r Samuell Nowell Magistrate James Whelcomb Hezekiah Visher Benjamin Davy & Andrew Belcher Merc^{ts} summond as witnesses for his Ma^{ts}: At the tryall some of them viz: Nowell Whelcomb Davy & Belcher pretended themselues to be owners of the Said Pink and produced a Bill of Sale to make appeare that about 3 yeares agoe she was built at New London & did belong then to said Whelcomb Belcher & others. It was proposed by said Randolph, that the feuerall persons pretending to ownership should depose in Court that they were bonâ fide the Owners of the said Pink at the tyme of her seizure, which they all refused tho' often presd therto the Gon^r & some of ye Magistrates looked vpon it as very necessary in regard the propriety of the said Pink was then in question. at last much tyme being spent twas offered by some of the said Owners that the M^r should make oath to proue the true propriety of the said Pink: whereas in y^e 14th of y^e King the Onus probandi is on y^e Defend^{ts} fide and the Said parties being Summond as witnesses and owning themselues proprietors makes themselues defend^{ts} howeuer the Oath of the Master is in such gen^tl tearmes, that with little variation twill indifferently serue for any ship in y^e Harbour. but how far the Oath of a M^r being lately putt in & produced no bill of Sale will availe to proue this matter in a Court wher the Cheife proprietors are present vpon whom it doth lye to make out their Right to the Said Pink is now the question vpon which the said Edw^d Randolph doth now in Court appeale to his Ma^{ts} in Councill: for hearing & determination

and

and futher moues that security may be giuen by the pretended owners to answeare his Ma^{tie} at ye Councill Board in this case so appeald vpon.

E. RANDOLPH Col^t.

Boston Sep^t 29th 1682

The Masters Oath.

Robert Wallis M^r of the Pink Good hope on his solemn Oath declares that the said Pink was at the tyme of P's seizure property belonging to his Ma^{tie} Subjects in New Eng^d & still doth belong and that bonâ fide.

sworn to in Court 9 of Sep^t 1682

as attests Edw^d Rawson Sec^ry

All Scotch men are here accounted his Ma^{tie} subjects in New Eng^d

This paper was giuen into y^e Court 12 of Sep^t 1682
Copy.

Reasons of Appeal in Case of the Pinck Good Hope

[*Endorsed*] Reason of Appeale in case of the Pinck Good hope given into the Court of Boston 12 Sep^t 1682

B. A. N^o 14

XV.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT CONCERNING THE CLAIMS OF
RANDOLPH AND MASON.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Portsmouth y^e 23th of October 1682

Ever Hono^d Sr

Since you are to haue the veu of the papers, I haue sent to y^e Lords &^a I hope you will be pleased to excuse me for
not

not sending you a Coppy, you will finde I am somewhat perticular Conserning the Province of Mayne Let me beg of you as you tend' the welfaire of his Maj^{ties} Interest & y^e Introduceing and well settling his Governm^t in New England to promote y^t busines for vnles y^t Province be vnted to New hampshire, it will be Jmpossible for y^e Kings Goverment to be supported however it hath bin represented by M^r Mafon at Whitehall, the Condi~~con~~ of y^e people in his Province is very meane and not Likely to Improve haueing no ffishery nor Tymber Considerable Left to Carry on Trade, the people are willing to contribute w^t they are able to do towards y^e support of His Maj^{ties} Goverment, and to pay M^r Mafon anything to their ability but are very slo in turning Tennants to him, he seemes dissattisfied I haue not Justified him in all his quarrels he had wth y^e people when he was here before and y^t I haue not proceeded as he would haue don had he bin Govern^r I finde them more dutifull in their behauour and expressions towards his Maj^y & Governm^t then I did expect, & y^e Ministe^r pray heartely for his [?] there being a greate want of armes in ys Province, hope you will be pleased to moue y^e Lords &^a to procure four hundred & fifty firelock muskets & one hundred Carbyns & one hundred Case of pistols without which wee cannot be safe against y^e Indiens, who are well Armed by the ffrench which makes them verry Insolent, The Assembly meets 14th of Novemb^r, I dout not but to get such Lawes past, as will be fattisfactory I haue put m^r Chamberlaine into y^e Execution of yo^r and his own office alsoe m^r Randolph, who is now with us, he and m^r Mafon last night gaue in writeing, their feuerall Charges against Maj^r Waldron & M^r

Martyn,

Martyn, I wish they make out Their charge I hear their Witnesses faile them; when I haue examined I shall giue a farther account to His Maj^{ie}, I haue ordered m^r Chamberlayn to audite y^e Publique account of all monies That has bin raised since His Maj^{ies} Commission y^e 18th of September 1679 wth shall be transmitted wth all other proceedings by y^e next opportunity I haue sent y^e seale by y^e Capt of y^e Man a warr, I pray exscuse me, y^t I had not time to write to m^r Povey being in great Hurry, I p^rsent my humble seruice to them all perticularly and m^r Gwynn which is all from

S^r

Yo^r most humble and faithfull servant
EDW CRANFIELD

[Addressed]

To Will^{ie} Blathwayt
Esq^r At Whitehall
N. Hampshire
23 Oct: 1682

[Endorsed]

From M^r Cranfield
N^o 6 Rec^d y^e 7: Jan
1682

Neceffity of uniting y^e Province of Main
to New Hampshire
No Fishing
Little Timber
The people Dutifull
The Lords to be moved for
450 firelocks
100 Carbines
100 Cafe of Pistolls
The Indians armed by y^e French

The

The Assembly meet y^e 14 Nov:
 M^r Chamberlain & M^r Randolph are in
 execution of y^e offices
 Mason & Randolph have given in their
 charge ag^t Martin & Waldron
 Chamberlaine is to audit acc^{ts} of Moneys
 raised since 1679.

XVI.

RANDOLPH'S ARTICLES AGAINST WALDERN AND MARTIN.

Colonial Papers, Vol. XLIX. no. 85.

Articles of High Misdemeanour Exhibited against Richard Waldern Sen. and Richard Martin, late of the Councill in New Hampshire By Edward Randolph Esq. Collector etc. of his Maj^t Customes in New England.

1. The faid Waldern and Martin did refuse to accept of his Maj^t Comission of Sep^t 1679 brought to John Cutt Esq., President, and other Persons nominated therin to be of the Councill and presented by the f^d Edward Randolph upon the 27th day of Decemb. 1679 lapsing the time of 20 days enjoyned by the faid Commission for their acceptance, yet would not accept therof.

2. That the faid Waldern and Martin at a Triall betwixt his Maj^t and Mark Haukins would not allow of the Deputation and Instructions granted the said Edward Randolph by the Commissioners of his Maj^t Customes produced in Court, but contrary to plaine Evidence gave Judgment against his Maj^t for the Summe of 13[£] 9[¶] 2^d and would not admitt of his Plea of the Gen^t Issue, as is directed in the
 Act

Act for preventing Fraud made in the 14th of the King, and is to be allowed off by all Judges of his Maj^{ts} Courts of Justice, As by the said Act.

3. That the said Waldern and Martin did about the same time disallow of the Deputation granted by the said Randolph to Cap^t Walter Barefoot in pursuance of his said Authority from the Commissioners of his Maj^{ts} Customes, and fined the said Barefoot the summe of Tenn pounds for his accepting of the said Deputation and kept him under Custody till the Fine was paid.

4. That the said Waldern and Martin upon a Seizure made of the Rigging and Sailes of a Shipp of Phillip Leverett at the said Martins Wharfe, and of the Rigging and Sailes of the Shipp Anne wherof Eli Nicholls was then Master about December 1680 made by Matthewes and Carter the said Randolphs Deputies, Summoned William Brickham to appeare at a Councill then mett, where after some debate they cleared the said vessells, and the said Waldern said that if he had been present when the said Seizures were made, he would imprison the said Randolphs Deputies, and openly disowned the said Randolph and his Authority

5. That the said Waldern upon the 30th of June last upon perusal of his Maj^{ts} Letters Pattents bearing date at Westminster the 15th of Octob. 1681 then brought to him by the said Randolph, disowned the power of Seizing Ships and Vessells granted to the said Randolph by the said Letters Pattents and to his Maj^{ts} great damage would not permit the said Randolph to make Seizure of the Pink whereof Lawrence Rayman of Jarsey was Master, but he the said Waldern appointed others to that service. By all which illegal and arbitrary

arbitrary proceedings his Maj^{ts} Officers & Service hath been wholly discountenanced, and the irregular trade encouraged, whereby his Maj^{ts} hath been a great looser in his Revenue and Customes in England.

E RANDOLPH Cott.

Copye Deliuered to the Gon^r at Piscataqua Oct. 21 1682.

XVII.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT AGAINST MASON AND RANDOLPH.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S^r

Portsmth in New Hampshire Decemb^r. 1st 1682.

I have Rec^d p M^r Sherburn yo^r of y^e 15th Augst for w^{ch} favour I Humbly thank you & for y^e Intelligence therein concerning y^e Massachusets Agents & Copy of their Address. You will find by y^e Account given y^e Lords, of y^e state of Affaires here (to whom also have sent Copies of some Lawes) how M^r Mason's Concernes look, & how farre short things come of w^{ch} was Reported by him, & Believed by yo^rselfe & me. If there be not an Augmentation to y^e Governm^t it was y^e greatest abuse Imaginable to put His Maj^{ts} upon Erecting of a Governm^t over four poore small Townes y^t neither are nor are ever like to be capable off maintaining y^e Honour & Charge thereof. The Acco^t of y^e Taxes in y^e Province since His Maj^{ts} Governm^t settled here never amounted to more than One hundr^d pounds p Ann^u nor are y^e people able to pay more; & therefore it is a disingenuity in M^r Mason, not to be forgiven, to Characterize things after so strange & mistaken a manner as he hath done, thereby Imposing upon his

his friends to their great disadvantage; Besides he is so Intangled by Debts, through borrowing of mony &c. y^t if he shoule have w^t he expects y^e whole Province would fall into his Credito^r hands, & he never be able to hold up his Head neither, there being Procurations already in y^e Country against him: Therefore you may Judg how necessary it is for the Lords & yourselfe to use yo^r Interest for the Addition of y^e Province of Main to this Governm^t. For y^e Notion of y^e fifth part of his quit Rents & fines (if you will give me leave to be merry w^t you) its a fantasticall fiction & immateriall substance, having existence no where save in his Brain: & if he had a Judgm^t for this Province & for y^t on y^e other side Merrimack (w^t I feare is as desperate as S: W: Killigrewes²⁶⁶ case about y^e Fenns, having not mony to goe thorow y^e Suit) yet possession, especially of y^e Commons where y^e poor people keep their Cattell & have their fire-wood, wilbe more difficult, & require better strength among those y^t are all parties, than His Maj^{ties} standing Guards. His Report about y^e readines of ye people to admit of Common-prayer &c. is a meer dream; & to refute it, y^e whole Provi[nce] is now preparing an Address²⁶⁷ to His Maj^{de} to
returne

²⁶⁶ Sir William Killigrew (1606-1695) was for years engaged in an attempt to drain the Lincolnshire fens, and was continually involved thereon in disputes with his neighbours, who, in repeated petitions to the House of Lords between 1641 and 1648, allege that they have lost £30,000 through Killigrew's proceedings. *Dictionary of National Biography*, article Killigrew.

²⁶⁷ For the Address here referred to see *supra*, Vol. I. p. 192, and *Calendar of*

State Papers, America and West Indies 1684, no. 1100, from which it appears that the Address was not "deemed expedient" to be presented by the Agents, but that a copy was procured by Randolph and forwarded to the Lords of Trade, with certain "Instructions" annexed, requiring all persons of the age of fifteen years to sign it, and adding significantly that *no copy is to be taken of the Address or Instructions*.

returne thanks for y^e not Imposing upon them y^e way of y^e Church of England, & to supplicate y^e pmiffion of y^t way of Worship wth their predecesso^r left England under y^e Countenance of Authority for y^e Enjoym^t of.

As to M^r Chamberlain, I referre you to y^e Lords L^{re}, wherein I have given a true description of him, & shall only adde y^t he is so peevish, Imprud^t & Dull as renders him unfit for busines & Conversation; tho. I am very sorry to give such a Character of a man y^t you were pleased so to recommend to me.

Yo^r office of Surveyor & Audit^r is owned at Councill, & y^e Country not being able, thro poverty to make such Acknowledgm^t as might have been expected, have passed an order for sixpence of ye pound to you, or yo^r Deputy out of all publike monies here raised, wth is hoped will Countervaile in proportion w^t is done in other Plantations, & when M^r Mason's report of y^e Grandeur of y^e Province & vastnes of y^e Taxes there raised, comes to be a reallity, I may look for my £3000. wth his Daughter, & then yo^r six pence of y^e pound will amount to a considerable summ. Though in y^e mean time y^e Isle of Shoales keepes it's distance from y^e Main & of his Soveraignty. Upon Consideration of y^e whole, I would enquire whither you can ever more seafonably shew yo^r kindnes to me than in promoting y^e busines of y^e Province of Main & the Passes for our Neighbours relating to y^e Algiers Articles.²⁵⁸

Pray let me know how matters goe in England, & in particular y^e Concernes of y^e Massachusets; & if there be any ungratefull

²⁵⁸ For these "Algier passes" see Letter XX. *note, post.*

ungratefull office to be done there, let M^r Randolph (who is sufficiently disgusting to them already) be Employed, y^t I may scape a busines so unsuitable to my Genius; & be y^e better capable of serving His Maj^{ts} otherwise.

And here I cannot chuse but hint somthing very pleasing to me in your last from Whitehall In w^{ch} you took notice of y^e Ingenuity & discreetnes of M^r Dudly one of y^e Bay-Agents; He hath a great reputation here, & hath given a worthy Character of your selfe, & they have a beliefe y^t you & I may be capable of doing them good offices, w^{ch} I doubt not wilbe duely acknowledged. And know it wilbe convenient y^t your kindnes & mine be acted distinctly by our selves, it being likely to goe more smooth if M^r Randolph be unconcern'd; & I am of opinion y^t His Maj^{ts} may be served & all ends answere, provided Religion & Tertenancy doe not hinder.

You Remember w^t I discoursed you about y^e Summar Plantations; if any vacancy fall I had rather be in a Warmer Country where I can Account for more than y^e Game of y^e whole Governm^t of New-England is able to produce. We are up to y^e knees in snow, y^e weather is Cold & comfortles, however I shall persevere in His Maj^{ts} service till things mend.

I hear nothing of Duke Hamilton's busines, y^t part of it y^t Concernes y^e Duke of york at Sackadehok is Considerable, & it's best to end it fairly wth His Highness, & may be done more easily, because y^e Duke is about to fell.

I did by a friend y^t hath Correspondence at New Plymouth give y^e Governo^r a Transcript of so m^{ch} of yo^r L^rē as concern'd them, when I receive a Returne, shall give Acco^t there[of]

Please

Please to give my Humble Duty to my Lord Conway, & let His Lordship know [I] have a gratefull sene of all His former favours. My best respects to my u[] friend M: Gwynn & your Unkle Povey, & please to accept of ye same from

S:

Your most faithfull & Humble serv:
EDW CRANFIELD

Postscript

If y^e province of Mayn be added to this Governm^t: please to prevent any Patent for Secretary & Provoft Marshall, or for Lands, or other things at His Maj^{ies} Disposall here, & give me notice of it, & let y^e appointing of a man or men for y^e Service be left wth me; & I will take care to put in such as whereby y^e Intereft of yo^rselfe & my friend Gwynn may be served wth my own. And y^e Consideration of my serving y^e King here without Sallary may help y^e matter to come off y^e easyer, whither it be secured to us by way of Pattent, or otherwife as you think fit.

N : Hampshire
Dec : 1 : 1682
From M^r Cranfield
N^o 7

[*Addressed*] For William Blathwayte Esq;
at
White Hall

[*Endorsed*] Packet of y^e 5 Aug: rec^d
Taxes of N : Hampshire 100^l p and
An Addres to y^e King with thanks for
not Imposeing y^e Church of Engl^d
M^r chamberlaine
The Office of Survey & Audit owned
& 6^d p lib^d : ordered :

Isle

Isle of shoales
 M^r Randolph to be Employed ags^t y^e
 Bostoners.
 M^r Dudley's Character beleived I may
 serv y^e Colony :
 Summer Plantations
 Sackedehock confiderable
 Communicated y^e lett^r Concern^d New Plymouth :

XVIII.

MASON TO RANDOLPH ACCUSING CRANFIELD.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Balthwayt.

Cofin Randolph.

I have sent you Three Letters since you were last here but have had no answer from you. my last was by M^r Welsh that came over as a Servant to the Governo^r but now turned of. I am earnestly expecting what answer the Government of Boston will give unto the letter I sent them a Moneth since under yo^r Covert, whither they will record my Title or not, Severall persons have been with me from Salem and Ipswich for a Confirmation of their lands and grant of some wast land, to whom I have made Deeds and doe dayly expect others. Matters here goe very unpleasing to me, the Governo^r being wholy swayed by my greatest Opponents, and all my ffreinds fligted and disountenanced, I cannot comprehend his policy in this. I am certain his proceedings in my concerns wilbe thought strange of in England. I purpose to return back (so soon as I know what y^e Governm^t will doe) to have matters brought into some better posture, the Gove^r.

Gove^r complying with these people hath made them more high then ever, I have a long story to tell you which I shall not now write. The Govern^r intends to visit Boston shortly, I offered to accompany him, but I perceive my stay here behind is more pleasing to him, it is likely his wellcome to some persons would be the less should I be in the Company. I shall fortify myself with patience till I can remedy it. I would have you mind and execute the powers of yo^r Commission in this province, lest there be a complaint sent of yo^r neglect. We have various Reports here of my Cofin yo^r wife. Some say she is dead others say very weak and cannot recover. I should be heartily sorry if the first be true. but I hope it is otherwise I beseech God to sanctify all: the dispensations of his providence to you with my hearty respects I remain

New Hamp.

yo^r affec^r Cofin & servant

Portsmouth.

ROBERT MASON

4. Decemb^r. 1682.

[*Endorsed*] N : Hampshire

14 : Dec : 1682

From M^r Mafon to M^r Randolph.

N^o 13:

XIX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON CRANFIELD'S TREACHERY.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston. Dec. 14th 1682

Hon^d S:

my letters loden only with ill newes. like Jobs Seru^{te} fol-
low one vpon the Heeles of another. This day Mr. Cran-
feild is gone for piscataqua. I had his company by snatches
onely . in wth he told me. That Seuerall of Mr. Mafons
credit^{te} in London by lett^{er} of Atturney to their Correspond-
ents here had ordred them to sue him. So that he hauing
(as I suppose) some notice of it . hath willingly declined com-
ing to Boston and thereby omitted a great opportunity by
not deliuering his letter vpon his first arriuall . by which he
had left this Gom^t without Excuse . but should he come now
they will not denye him a Court, but he must stay till next
May when their Gen^{ll} Court sitts. I find Mr. Cranfeild hath
told these . that altho a protection giuen him and his Agents
from Arefts during their prosecuting claimes to Lands etc:
doth not hinder and stop the bringing vpon him an action
for Debt. So that now tho' he come not to Boston . they
will areft him in his own province . vpon those Gen^{ll} letters
of Atturney and so quite disenable him from prosecuting in
either place; for they seem to take the advantage that in
regard his Ma^{te} hath wrote to this Colony . not to areft . etc .
they may in modefty forbeare . but there being no partic-
ular command to that purpose to Mr. Cranfeild or Gom^t at

Piscat[al]g[ua]

Pifcat[a]g[ua] I see all resolued vpon the greatest prejudice against him. I feare he will be in Goale before I can gett theither . (being engaged to seize a Scotch man seized there by me some tyme since) so that I can fore fee nothing but a suddaine vnavoidable and irreparable ruine to my Cousin his family and fortunes (hauing with great expence of tyme and money brought his busines (as was beleuied .) to a good issue .) by these vnjust proceedings they putt an absolute stop hereby vpon him neuer to appeare to do them any prejudice by his claimes . and is also made vncapable to satisfy any of those debts they now bring in a body against him depending soley vpon his Rents. I heartily wish I may be miſtaken but feare I ſpeak vpon too ſure grounds and alſo . that no man durſt appeare againſt my Cousin Maſon if Mr. Cranfeild had kept himſelfe to himſelfe . this is too apparent againſt my Cousin and looks like a Gen^l deſigne of this Colony and Waldron and his party in the Prouince of N: Hampsheire. I expect my ſcene next either by falſe inforrnations at Court or by inviting ſome to trouble me here. S: No ſhips from hence after this will come for Eng^d till march or Aprill next. So that my Cousin may Starue except ſome direcrons by way of Barbados come heither in his releife . this is absolute Barbarism and could be expected no where but here amongſt his enemys the worſt of men . and is propagated by the Phannaticks in and about London . because my Cousin hath been too free in diſcourse as well in action againſt this great Branch of the Gang : who will now tryv mph in this their master preece . and beleuie themſelues ſecure vnder a New Setled Gov^t and Gom^t by the King eſtablished . by this they are combining to

to putt a sham vpon the whole frame and settlement of that Prouince ordred and Concluded by so long and so deliberate advise of the Lords of his Ma^{ties} Councill.

Would my Cousin take my advise . t'wer better for him to make it all ouer to his Ma^{ties} vpon some reseruations . and leaue them to try it out with the King, but me thinks this the extreamity of their Envy and Barbarity should quicken the Quo : Warr^o which once brought . both the Gom^t and Lands claimed in this Colony by Mr. Mason will fall at his Ma^{ties} ffeet. Recommending all our Concernes to your favour I am

S: your most humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH.

[*Addressed*]

To the Hon^{ble}

William Blathwayt Esq.
with a Small Box
for his Ma^{ties} Seruice

Directed to him at the

Plantation Office in Whitehall
by Capt. Carye Commander of the
ship Mary and Elizabeth of Charlestown

L. D. G.

[*Endorsed*]

Boston 14: Dec: 1683

From Mr. Randolph.

No. 7. Rec^d 20 Feby.

Mr. Mason 1683

Mr. Mason credit^r have ordered their Attorneys to sue him.

XX.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT IN SUPPORT OF RANDOLPH.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Province of Newhampshire

10th January . 1682

Sr

My last was from Boston where I spent time enough to pry into some of the secrets of the ffaction, upon my dealing plainly with them in reference to their affairs at Court, they told me that by the passions and precipitate counsels amongst them, they had highly and deservedly incurred his Maj^e displeasure and that if a Quo Warranto should be brought against their Charter they would be at no further charge to make a defence, but cast themselves at his Maj^e feet, and sue for pardon and willingly submitt to such regulations as in his princely wisdome should seem meet:

If his Maj^y shall think fitt to send a Quo Warranto to M^r Randolph, and shew the Governor Magistrates and General Court, that in one hand, and a Commission with a generall pardon in the other hand, I have good assurance from both parties, the latter will have a kind reception, without putting his Maj^y to any further charge or trouble, they will swollow all that is in my Commission. It is absolutely necessary that all the preachers are to be placed or displaced as the Governor shall think fitt, for I find they have so great an influence upon the people, and so apt to disfturb the peace that I shall not be able to govern this small province without that power.

I

I must intreat *yo^r favour* in having my Commission of Admiralty enlarged, and to contain all the maritime Coasts from Kenebeck River in the province of Main to ffairfield in the Colony of Connecticut, the better to secure the Coast and prevent Interlopers which come from prohibited ports, and that I be also impowred to Grant pases²⁵⁰ to all ships y^e saile from these parts . to secure them against the Algerines and other Turks which wilbe of advantage unto me.

There is a Clause in my Commission for raisng of taxes and impositions for support of the Government which I intreat may be declared in these words. for Support and maintenance of the Governor and Government, because the Assembly would understand the words only to imply for maintaining the Government without having any relation to my subsistence, for I find these people very critical in all words and expressions and are ready to take all advantages against the Kings prerogative as they have lately discovered themselves.

Here are severall Scots men that inhabitt here and are great interlopers and bring in quantities of goods underhand from Scotland. I desire m^r Attorney General his opinion upon the Act of the 12th of the King . ffor encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation Whither a Scots man born can be permitted to inhabitt and trade as a merchant

²⁵⁰ For these "Algeere pases," as Randolph calls them (Letter XXVII.), cf. Lane Poole's *Barbary Pirates*, p. 271: "There was generally one favoured nation or perhaps two to whom the Algerines accorded the special favour of safe conducts over the Mediterranean, and it was the object of all other traders to borrow or buy these free pases from the happy posseffors." They are repeatedly mentioned in the English *State Papers*; for example, *Board of Trade Journals*, Vol. E. p. 82. Here Cranfield seems to speak of pases issued by himself apparently as representative of the "most favoured nation."

merchant or ffactor, they pretending a right thereunto as being born within the allegiance of our sovereign Lord the King, which I humbly conceive Scots men are not privileged by that Act to exercise the trade or occupation of a merchant or ffactor in his Maj^t plantations. Since my arrival here a Scots vessell was seized by m^r Randolph and condemned, and sold for 120£ of which m^r Randolph will give you a more particular account.

Herewith I send you the Laws that I have thought fitt to passe and putt under the Seal. I sent you some few others that you might see the nature of these beasts.

As to M^r Mason's concerns he expected the people would have turned tenants to him at his first arrival . but he now finds the perverse temper of Many of them who are influenced by Waldern and Moody (whom at my first coming I was so charitable to beleive they were better men then now I find them) that without a tryall first had upon the place, as hath been directed in his Maj^t letters to the Bostoners, which these his stubborn Oppofers doe depend upon before his Maj^t in Councill can give a finall Judgement against them and all this is only to gain time. I am therfore of opinion y^t an order be directed to me to admitt of tryals between him and the Tertenants as in the Boston Colony, and then they will come to his terms rather then be at charge and trouble to defend a bad title and answer his Appeals in England.

As to other matters relating to the Bostonⁿ I suppose you will have an account from m^r Randolph who is well acquainted with the humour of the people, and will give you the names of fitting persons to be putt into the Commission as a Councill when his Maj^t shall think fitt to reassume that Government.

Government. m^r Randolph hath gone through many difficulties and troubles in his imployment, but that wilbe soon over if he have the same affistance in other places as I shalbe able to give him when I have my Commission of Admiralty enlarged,

The Affembly is now sitting and I much question whither I shall be able to dispose them to make any settlement *for my support and* to defray the necessary charge of the Government, and therfore I judge it absolutely necessary that his Maj^y impower myself and the Councill under his signet and sign manuall to raiſe moneys by Customs excise and otherways not exceeding One thousand pound \pounds anⁿ. and herein the people will acquiesce. I am S^r

yo^r most humble & faithfull serv^r

EDW CRANFIELD

[*Endorsed*]

N : Hampshire

10 Jan^y 1683

From M^r Cranfield

N^o : 11 :

p Barbadoes Rec^d y^e 10 May 83

The Bostoners ready to submit to a Quo Warr^{to}:

Commission of Adm^y to be enlarged ;

A claufe in his Commission, for raiſing taxes to be explained

Scots Inhabit^{rs} pretend to a right of trade

Quere to M^r Attorney there upon the Laws

M^r Mason : Waldron & Moody

Order to admit of tryals between Mason & ten^{rs} upon y^e place

The Affembly fitting

Power to Gov^r & Councill to raiſe Moneys

Dupl Rec^d 18 May 83

XXI.

XXI.

FAILURE OF RANDOLPH'S ACTION AGAINST DANFORTH.

Colonial Papers, Vol. L. no. 22.

At a County Court for Suffolke
held at Boston 30th January. A^o 1682.

Edward Randolph Esq^r Plt
cont^r Thomas Danforth Esq^r Def^r
according to Attachm^r dat^d 13th Jan^y instant

The Def^r objecting against the pcess as being illegall, and claiming a Non Sute.— The Court considering the deficiency thereof, the action being onely for ten pounds depofited, and no mention of what was kept of f^d Sume either part or whole: And that notwithstanding the Presidents Letter to the Justices of the Province of Mayne for calling a Special Court at Request of the Plt directing them to take caution for answering the Carges thereof (now pduced by the Plt as the ground of his pceeding) the members of that Court, not being obliged upon that Letter to act contrary to Law, are the persons liable to accoſ for any male adm^{on} and to respond the Plt damage (if any Sustained by him) Likewise the Presid^r of that Province being accountable onely to the Govern^r and Company of the Massachufetts, the Lord Proprietor of f^d Province (from whome hee received his Comiſſion) and not to any inferiour Court here, for any illegality in the generall Adm^{on} of his Authority.

The

The pmisses considered, The Court declare an
abatement of the Writt in this case.

This is a true Coppie from the Courts Booke of Records
as attests J^t Addington Cl^r

[*Endorsed*]

Copia
M^r Randolph Ver^t m^r
Danforth. Janu^r. 1682

Rec^d y^o 9 June 1683
p M^r Randolph

B. A. N^o 30

XXII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON GOVE'S REBELLION.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston. Ffeb. 3. 1682

Hon^d S:

I receiued by my Brother Barnard Randolph ²⁰⁰ who is
now arrived from Eng^d vpon Cap^t Jenner your letter of the
2^d of October with an enclosed Minute of the Lords of the
Committee of Trade for my coming home : according to
the other receiued vpon Cap^t ffoy . I intend God willing to
imbark as soon as I can to receiue yr Commands at White-
hall . in the meane tyme this day I haue advise that yester-
day was appointed for Tryall of One Gove and others in
the Prouince of N: Hamps^s . for arming themselues last
weeke

²⁰⁰ For Bernard Randolph and his troubles, cf. *supra*, Vol. I. note 331.

weeke and said they would know who was Gov^r before they laid down their Arms : ²⁶¹ they were by the Gov^r order taken by Major Waldron and imprisoned . the whole province Condemning such a rash act : Mr. Moode preached vpon the 30th of Jan^r and made as the Gov^r hath said to some a Good sermon vpon the 5th Commandement.

I shall be well furnished with new matter ag^t this Gom^t enough to do their busines without taking notice of former miscarriages : I haue not further to ad onely that I am now going to Pascataqua and at my returne prepare for sea . and am S:

your most humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH.

[*Endorsed*] Boston 3 Feb^r 1683

From Mr. Randolph

N^o 9 Rec^d the 26. Mar: 1683

Order to come for Eng^{ld}

Moody preached on the 30th Jan^r

[*Addressed*]

To the Hon^{ble}

William Blathwayt Esq.

deliuer

XXIII.

²⁶¹ An entirely different account of Indies, 1683, no. 906), and in a subsequent despatch (no. 952) he condemns Gove's words is given by Cranfield in a letter to the Lords of Trade (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West* Indies, 1683, no. 906), and in a subsequent despatch (no. 952) he condemns the *disloyal* conduct of the ministers on 30th January.

XXIII.

BERNARD RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston 3: Ffbruary 1682

Hon^d S:

I was att the Plantation office to receiue your com^d to Bro'r: Randol but was soe straightned in point of time, that with greate difficultye I procured a passage on Mr. Jennars ship at the Downes, where receiued your packⁿ directed to him for which gaue my rec^t: Jennar refused to take charge therof, the w^{ch} (after almost 15: weekes contending with many feuere stormes upon the coast) I deliuered to him, and find him resolued (upon rec^t of your former) to imbarque on the first conuenien[ce] for England, leaueing mee to receiue all your com^d and dispatches relating as well to the Prouence of N: Hampsh^r (where I first landed) as alsoe what concern's his Maj^y in this Collonie, to all w^{ch} I shall giue due respect and obedience, and Remaine

Hon^d S:

Your most Humble serv^t:

BARN^D RANDOLPH.

[*Endorsed*]

Boston 3 Feby 1682

From Mr. B. Randolph

N^o 10. Rec^d the 26 Mar: 83

His passage and Arrivall

at N: England.

XXIV.

XXIV.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT SUPPORTING RANDOLPH.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Portsmouth 20: February 1682:

S:

I haue experimetally found euerything come to pafs
 which I discoursed with you before M^r Guinn att Whitehall
 and had not I come in one of his Maj^{ties} ffrigotts, thofe then
 in Powre would not haue giuen obedience to his Maj^{ties}
 Commission, The ffrigot being no sooner gonn, and that
 they saw I was resolued to stand by M^r Randolph in putting
 the Acts of trade and nauigaçon: in Execution But they
 upon all occasions questioned my powre of which Goues
 insurection one of the Assembly of the Prouince is a plaine
 demonstration as by my feuerall Letters to the Right Hon^{ble}:
 the Lord's of the Committee will plainly appeare therfore
 tis a meere mockery to thinck, any thing here or in Boston
 Goum^t can bee done without the affistance of a frigott, which
 if you can forthwith obtaine itt will not only bee a means
 to settle his Maj^t affaires here, att Boston and the other
 Colony's, But also lett us in to other aduantages, and if M^r
 Guinn and you will concerne your felues and vfe your
 intref, that the managem^t of the busines may bee committed
 to mine and M^r Randolph care, I do giue you my faith that
 you two shall come into an equall part of euery thing that
 tends to proffitt, first as to the Settlement of the Prouince of

Maine

Maine wee shall att least make 3000 li: The Narragansett Countrey lyes betwixt feuerall claimours, both pty's: haue mony and 3 or 4000: li will not be felt in the disposeing those Land's, and as for Boston there are some person's to bee Exempt out of the pardon who will buy their pardon att 8 or 10,000 li price besides there are feuerall graunts of Towne land's, which will in a yeare or two come to bee renewed to pay aboue 2000 li upon their new leases, The Excize and custom's yearly paid come to aboue 1500: li and there is aboue 5000: mony which was collected for the Evangelizing of Indians, now out att vse in the Countrey which by commission may bee inspected into and regulated with other aduantages, which will arise in the Settlement, It is absolutely necessary to haue a frigott upon the coast and S^r Iohn Wybourn being our freind now on the coast of Ireland as presume may best bee spared hee being well acquainted with this Country, by the ffrigotts countenance wee shall quietly carry on his Maj^t concern's etc^t in which if you intrest M^r Seamore²⁰² its uerry probable things may succeed the better and an order for the frigott bee procured the sooner, and by his intrest with the Duke of Yorke wee may alwayes haue one to attend on the coast, while affaires are throughly settled without which all Priuate and Publick matt^r will bee att an end.

M^r Randolph will tell you into what a fooles paradice I am betrayed for besides the vnsociable part, I am ouer runn with dayly charges and Expences being forced to hyre trusty men

²⁰² Afterwards Sir Edward Seymour and one of the leaders of the Tory party under William III.

men to guard my house by reason of dayly tumults and Comotion's and in all respect so vneasy that should not his Maj^{ie} imediately send a ffrigott there will bee [no] liueing here, or hopes to haue any Iustice done either in relation to the Acts of trade or the Affaires of M^r Mason, whose large propofall's of aduantage and the peoples turning Tenants to him upon the termes made to them in his Maj^{ie} Commission they are all dwindled to nothing.

I am sensible by what I now meet withall that M^r Randolph in his feuerall letters representing his vneafiness did not complaine without caufe which will all vanish if wee haue a frigott, to countenance vs in the future

It's possible the Agents may haue instructions to wheedle confidering the present circumstances of their Gouerm^t, But all will end as did with me when the ffrigott was gonn only to gaine time a Principall maxime of the Xtian^t: polisy of this Countrey for no sooner did I appeare in M^r Randolph's affistance to putt the Acts of trade in Execution or otherwife assert his Maj^{ie} Authority But open Rebellion follows to which I haue only putt a Stopp by condemning Goue their Principall Ringleader which would neuer haue beene brought about had I not first gott an act paſſ'd that y^e Marshall appointed by me should haue the full power of impanelling and returning Iury men for want of which wee lost the Ketch as his Maj^{ie} did my Lord Shaftesberry,²⁶³ And now for quietnes sake I am forct to knock under the Table and allow their feuerall Extrauigancies haueing no power to bee a check to them.

Pray

²⁶³ For the effects of Shaftesbury's acquittal, see *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 170, 181, 182.

Pray hastne M^r Randolphs returne with all necessary dif-
patches to whome I referr you in the matters of Publick and
priuate concerns and Remayne

S^r

Your most humble and faithfull seruant
To M^r Blathwayte [signed] EDW CRANFIELD

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayte Esq^r

at

Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] N. Hampshire
20 Feb^r 1683
From M^r Cranfeild
N^o 15 : Rec^d y^e 4 June 1683
p M^r Randolph
A Frigatt necessary
Settlem^t of Boston advantageous to y^e persons concerned
Maine worth 3000^l
Narragansett 3000^l
Pardons for the Bostoners :
Renewing leases
Excize
Evangelising Money
S^r J Wyburn
M^r Seamount
His house guarded
Gove tryed
His Marshall Impannells Juries

XXV.

XXV.

WHARTON TO BLATHWAYT IN SUPPORT OF RANDOLPH.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston Jn N : England Aprill 2^d 1683Honrd S^r

M^r Randolph being the bearer leaus noe occasion to communicate y^e Tranfactions of thes Collonyes, he hath been Jndustrious in his observations, and collections, and its hoped wilbee Just, and favourable in his rep'sentations, M^r Lewin hath been unkind to y^e Narrogansett propriet^r in letting y^e Comission by soe long, it was much desired that M^r Randolph might haue affisted in y^e Execution, if not first comeaway I haue orderd my son to satifly y^e Charge how-ever to waite upon yo^r selfe for yo^r Comands hither, I hope the Despatch of this Comission, and yo^r further favour for settlem^t upon y^e Report that may be made hence will giue occasion to y^e Gentlemen concernd to make due acknowledgm^t, S^r M^r Randolphs Jmediate Departure makes me refer to his report and abruptly to subscribe myfelfe

S^r yo^r most obliged humble & faithfull serv^t

RICHARD WHARTON.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble} William Blaithwayt
 Esq^r Clark to y^e most Hon^{ble} Privy Councill
 at WhiteHall
 p M^r Randolph: Q: D: C:

[*Endorsed*] Boston
 2 Ap: 1683

From



From M^r Wharton
N^o 14: Rec^d y^e 4 June
p M^r Randolph
N^o 14

XXVI.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT ON RANDOLPH AND GOVE.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S^r

Boston 19: June 1683

Since the departure of M^r Randolph for England I haue spent my time in this Colony and vizitted feuerall parts therof on purpose to obserue the actions and proceedings of these Magistrates of which I haue giuen the Right Hon^{ble}: the Lords of the Committee an account att Large and therfore shall not troble you with repeating it, M^r Randolphs Brōr: brings you fresh complaints against this Goumt: who are as insolent as euer I referr you to his owne relation as to the particulars, I haueing beene an Eye and eare Wittness of many affronts offerd him from the Magistrates as well as others, I hope there is a good progres^s made in the Vacanting of this Patent which they themselues doe expect, and if you doe not contribute your vtmost endeauours towards the speedy pulling of them downe you will certainly bee wanting to discharge your duty to his Maj^{ts} as well as to your selfe in reaping uery considerable aduantages of some thoufands of pounds, ouer and aboue of what I hinted to you.

The trade of this place is cheifly of ffrench and Holland goods, which are imported in such quantitys and sold so much

much cheape then those brought from England that of y^e Cargo I brought with me, I haue scarfely sold sufficient to defray my expences and it will bee impossible to preuent this Irregulare trade without a ffrigott or two upon the Coast, to Seize these interlopers, the good's being putt into Sloopes in Seuerall parts of this Colony err the Ship's come into Harbour to make their Entry's.

I expect by my next to heare of Goues being executed for if any mercy should bee shewed him there will bee no liueing in this Country his Punishm^t will be a terroure to all others

S^r I wholy rely upon you for gitting my Commission from his Royall Highnes²²⁴ of being Vice Admirall of the Seuerall Colonys of New England w^t being done and with the assistance of a ffrigott (which I pray press for with all expedition) I may then bee in a condition to secure the trade of the place from those many interlopers w^t now frequent this Coast to the greate damage of his Maj^t Reuenues

S^r I could say a great deale more but M^r Randolph, went furnish't with materialls to carry on his Maj^t seruice, it would bee impertinent to say any more in relation to these matters therfore shall waite a happy Iffue both as to what concern's the well settlement of the Prouince of Maine New Hampshire and this Colony, this is all att p'sent from

S^r

Your most humble and
faithfull seruant
EDW CRANFIELD
[Addressed]

²²⁴ James Duke of York was Lord High Admiral, and the granting of such commiffions would rest with him.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwaite Esq^r
at
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] Boston 19: June 1683
From M^r Cranfeild
N^o 19 Rec^d y^e 9 Aug: 1683
p M^r Randolph's brother

Hath oberseved [sic] the Massachusetts proceedings
Hath give the L^{ds} an account
French & Dutch goods sold cheaper than the English
Expect^s to hear of Goves execution
Desires a Comission of Vice adm^r & a frigat
Goves Estate

[*Enclosure*] Goues Estate was so inconfid^{ble}, and conueyed
away that all I could make of it is but 200^l mony of this
Country to bee paid att feuerall times the first payment not
being till January Next & then I will returne you a third
part out of it, which shall bee your portion for the future of
all aduantages that Shall arise to mee here or whereuer I
am employed in his Maj^u Seruice.

XXVI A.

RANDOLPH AND EDWARD GOVE.

Colonial Papers, Vol. II. no. 5.

It's humbly represented that Cap: Jolls Command of the
ship Richard of Boston did take on board Edward Goue of
Hampton by order of M^r Cranfield & vpon condition to
VOL. VI. — 10 keepe

keepe him aboard after his arriuall in England vntill he was demanded by Order vnder the hand of One of his Ma^{ies} principall Secretaryes of State.

E. RANDOLPH

June 4th 1683

[*Endorsed*] 4 June . 83
 M^r Randolph ab^t
 Gove y^e traytor

XXVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT FROM THE DOWNS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

From aboard His Ma^{ys} Ship
 Golden Rose in the Downes
 Sep^t 3 . 1683

S:

I heartily congratulate the New Secretary at Warr²⁶⁵. and
 wish a dayly accumulation of all happines. by M^r Pomeyes²⁶⁶
 to

²⁶⁵ "In August, 1683, Blathwayt purchased from Matthew Locke the post of Secretary at War, a post which, before the Revolution, seems to have been synonymous with a clerkship of a Committee of Council, and according to Luttrell he became clerk of the Council in ordinary on 22 October, 1686, and clerk of the Privy Council in February, 1689." *Dictionary of National Biography*: article Blathwayt, William. The deed of purchase from Locke is among the papers at Dyrham Park.

²⁶⁶ Randolph was plainly not yet acquainted with the name of John Povey, a son of William (the "unkle Povey")

alluded to by Cranfield in Letter XXVIII.), and consequently a cousin of Blathwayt. He was a chief clerk in the Plantation Office, and was not universally respected. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 536 VI: "A letter from Mr Povey to the Governor [of New York] being produced, Mr Wright took the freedom to say 'Mr Povey! 'S blood, Mr Povey! What's he? Damme, I know him well enough. He is but a little inconsiderable supernumerary clerk of the Council.'" Pepys's friend, Thomas Povy, was probably of the same family.

to me of the first instant I am advised of yours from Winchester to me. I shall be very glad to receiue all your Commands and feare I may haue yet a very long stay here. in regard the Master is not yet come down and I heare there are new proposalls²⁰⁷ and articles to be signed by the Master and whole ships Company whom I find ill disposed to be engaged further then what already agreed vpon. the Agents haue been sayld from hence now 13 dayes . and this last faire wind will giue them their passage . in a little tyme.

S: I haue been ouer looking my papers and find it desired by some Merc^a in Boston—that they might haue the benefitt of Algeere Passes²⁰⁸ for such of their ships as carry fish from us to the Streights. be pleased therefore in Continuance of your favour to them to moue the Lords that . 12 or 20 Blank Passes may be sent to New England by the next shipping for Boston which will be ready to sayle in 8 or 10 dayes . and as to M^o Brisbans fees . I will see them paid to him : this will be a great Kindnes to them and make me very welcome to the trading party. Saterday last I waited vpon S^o Edw^d Derring²⁰⁹ at Cap^t Whorwoods at Denton. S^o Rob^t Southwell and you are expected at Surrenden this weeke. you may please to write me yet these 4 or 5 dayes if busines present for I am very vncertain
of

²⁰⁷ This must refer to Phips's commission to dredge for sunken treasure in the West Indies, out of which he made his fortune.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *supra*, Letter XX. *note*.

²⁰⁹ Sir Edward Dering was one of the Lords of the Treasury. His death

is mentioned by Randolph in a letter to Shrimpton, *supra*, Vol. III. p. 311. He was father of the Dering spoken of hereafter, who was Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; Southwell had married his daughter.

of Sayling. intreating the continuance of your affiance I
am S:

your most obliged Ser^t
ED RANDOLPH

[*Endorsed*] Downes 3^d Sept. 83
From M^r Randolph. Rec^d the 5:

[*Addressed*] These
to the Hon^t William Blathwayt
Esqr.
at the Plantation Office
Whitehall

XXVIII.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT SUGGESTING A QUO WARRANTO.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Great Island Octob. the 5th 1683

S:

According to his Ma^t Commission I have wth the rest of
the Gentlemen therin specified taken a view of the Narra-
ganset Country, and made inquiry into the claims of his
Ma^t and the pretensions of the Inhabitants and others, as
well to the Governm^t as the soil, and find that M^r Wharton
M^r Hutchinson and several other Gentlemen at Boston are
fair purchasers of Ninnicraft the Indian Sachem, who doe
all intend to complement you wth a parcel of land wthin their
claime, the Governm^t undoubtedly belongs to Connecticut,
their Pattent being antienter then the Road Islanders, the
humour of the Inhabitants and method of their Governm^t
being the same wth Boston as corrupt, but much more ignorant,
therefore

therefore if his Ma^y please to reaffume them into his hands as well as Boston, it may make a through Reformation among them. The Bostoners seem to be very careless in defending their Charter, their Ministers infusing into the people, that it is Gods cause and that they may lawfully draw their Swords in the defence of their Charter and the liberties therin granted unto them. The Road Islanders upon our Convention did convene wth their General Court in the Narraganset Province wthin a mile of M^r Smiths were we sat upon the Execution of his Ma^y Commission, we had no sooner fett, but they sent one Holder and Green wth a letter from the General Court to prohibit our proceedings, wherupon my self wth the Commissioners desired them that they would hear his Ma^y Commission read, and then they would know by what authority we met there, which they refused to hear, or to take a copy of his Ma^y Commission; they had no sooner returned to the place where the General Court sat, but they sent their Marshall to proclaime us unlawfully assembled, notwithstanding wth we proceeded, but in short they were in every respect so undutifull to his Ma^y Commission, that if we had not carried it wth great moderation it might have occasioned a great deal of mischeif, the particulars are too tedious to relate, therfore must referre you to young Mr. Wharton who was an eye witnes to all the passages. Only beg leave if they should complain that we kept them from the sight of his Ma^y Commission; tis groundless, for M^r Shrimpton and I had been a fortnight upon the Island and several times offered to shew the Governor and Magistrates the Original Commission and give them a Copy attested under the hands of M^r Shrimpton and myself,

myself, but they refused to accept of both. Pray let my Lord of Clarendon know there is an order of their General Court for 1000. Acres of land to be laid out to his ffather my Lord Chancellor, if he please to fend me a power, I will gett him a good sum of mony for it. Never any people trusted wth authority were so incapable of discharging the truſt reposed in them, therefore I hope his Ma^r will bring a Quo Warranto ag^t it, wth if he does, I will furnish M^r Attorney wth matters ſufficient to vacuate their Charter, I do not doubt but M^r Whartons ſon will bring papers that will ſatisfie you therin, tis a great ſatisfaction to me to hear that the King has overcome the Charter of London, and unleſs that he ties up the hands of the Magiſtrates or thoſe that ſhalbe intruſted wth the Gouvernm^t in New England when the Boston Charter is broke, it wilbe bootleſs the bringing the Quo Warranto. I do not doubt but yo^r devoſtions to the Service of the Crowne will not be wanting to do yo^r part in preventing all future evils, at preſent M^r Maſon and I have a very uncomfortable being here, and doe wth impaſtence wait for Ioles to hear what is become of Gove, for ſhould he not be executed we ſhall all be knock'd on the head, I hope you will be ſo kind to promote my petition to the Lords to get leave that I may withdraw to Barbados or ſome of the other Southerne Plantations during the Severity of the winter for four months, for my thin conſtitution will not diſpence wth the Sharpneſſ of the weather. In wth as in all other yo^r former favours you will highly oblige

S:

Yo^r humble and faithfull Servant

EDW CRANFIELD

Pray

Pray hasten m^r Randolph or his
Brother away, for his Ma^r service
fuffers extreamly for want of them
for from Boston all the Colonies are supplied
wth forreigne Commodities

Pray give my humble duty to my Lord of
Conway and service to M^r Guin and yo^r Uncle Povey

[*Addressed*] ffor William Blaithwayt Esq₃

[*Endorsed*] N : Hampshire. 5 Oct. 83 From Mr. Cranfeild. Rec^d 21
Feb^r 84

p[er] M^r Wharton. Inquire into the Claimes to Narragan-
set. Defense of the Charter of Boston. Gen^l. Court of Road
Isl^d forbidd the proceeding of the Comiss^r.
1000 Acres set out to my L^d Clarendon in Road Isl^d Colony.
Wharton bring papers satisfactory for a Quo Warr^d.

XXIX.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT ON THE RESULTS OF GOVE'S PARDON.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

New Hampshire, Novem^r 15th 1683.

S:

Yo^r by M^r Randolph of y^r 30th of Aug. I have
received, wth is in all respects most kind & oblidging, both as
to y^r intelligible part, & yo^r further assurance of yo^r favour
& countenance in my own concerns, I have left so little room
to add anything more in referrence to y^r publick affairs, then
what I have inserted in my letters by M^r Wharton, therfore
shalbe

shalbe y^e les tedious now, especially since M^r Randolph can at yo^r best leisure by word of mouth informe you of all passages since his arrival, & in what an ill ferment y^e People of this Province are, by reason of a report w^{ch} came by Ioles of Goves being pardoned, wheras before they all beleived he was Executed, w^{ch} kept them in obedience, w^{ch} is demonstrable by what has hapned in y^e concerns of M^r Mason, who has w^{ch} patience expected a compliance upon y^e conditions laid down in his Ma^t Royal Com^{ission}, but finding none, he brought actions ag^t several of y^e Principals, & obtained Judg^m ag^t 30. or 40. of them, wherof Execution was taken out ag^t 2 of them & levied some time before Ioles came in, but after they heard y^e Gove was pardoned, they had publick meetings & were in a combination to kill & destroy w^{ch} Gunpowder, scalding water & hot spits y^e Provost & Marshall & all such as should come to give them any interruption in their possessions, & likewise did give opposition to y^e Marshal accordingly, wherupon M^r Mason desired y^e Posse Comitatus, but I durst not proceed further, fearing it might bring blood & confusion among us, being incited & stir'd up by Moody, Waldron & Vaughan, who gave out y^e *I was sent for home a Prisoner* by y^e ffrigat y^e carryes my L^d Howard to Virginia. S^r knowing you have too much busines, to read long letters, shall forbear to inlarge any further but only request to give my humble thanks to S^r Rob^t Southwell, & please to accept y^e same from

S^r yo^r most humble & faithfull servant
EDW CRANFIELD

M^r Dudly & M^r Buckley has used their
utmost endeavors to dispose y^e Gen: Court

to

to a dutiful & mannerly surrender of their Charter
but all ineffectual as yet

[*Addressed*] for William Blathwayt Esq;
in
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] 15 Novemb-1683

N : Hamp
From M^r Cranfeild
Rec^d 22 Feb.

1683

The People fermented upon report of Gove's pardon
M^r Mason obtains judgm^t ag^t sev^t of y^e ten^t
Report y^t M^r Canfield is sent for home
Dudley & Bulkley for a surrend^r of y^e charter

XXX.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT ON RANDOLPH'S TROUBLES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

New Hampshire. January. 16th 1683

S^r

Knowing you are involved in a multitude of busi-
ness, shall not trouble you with any particulars, being so full
in my letter to the Lords of the Committee. Only acquaint
you, that here is a Report, that for a Sum^t of mony M^r Ran-
dolph is to endeavour to keep the old Magistrates in their
places, I doe not doubt, but it is an Artifice of the ffaction
to make reflections upon him, for thoſe that would not ſtick
to call him Rogue to his face, threaten to fling him in the
Towne Dock, Shoot Guns in his Wife's face, & pursue his
Daughters

Daughters through the Streets with the name of Whores, Whores, will not be backward to doe him all the injuries they can. ffor should the old Magistrates be continued, twould render his Services to his Maj^y more injurious, then what he ever hath or can doe for him, they also give out, that he is to put one M^r Wyer²⁷⁰ (a late discontented Assembly man) in a way at Whitehall, for a Sum^m of mony, to destroy M^r Mafons interest, not only on this fide, but the other fide of Merrimack also. When I consider his charge against them & his accusations, I cannot beleive but it is maliciously designed against him, if there be any thing in it, his motions will soon discover it, ffor I doe assure you nothing can settle the Kings affairs here, but removing all the Magistrates except M^r Buckley & M^r Dudley, and whoever advices otherways, betrays the King.

According to his Maj^y Letter I have pardoned all that were in Goves busines, except his Son & young Whadleigh who I keep in Prison, their Relations are very violent men, & daily breed disturbances in the Province. I still remaine of the same opinion, that the countenance of a small ffrigat, ordered to this Port, though to stay but a fortnight, would conduce more to his Maj^y Service here, then the pardoning of ffive hundred men, for to these arrogant ill natured people, clemency does but encourage them to be Rebellious.

The Letter of M^r Cooks to M^r Randolph I received open, upon the perusal find, that he hath an Expectation from the Confederates of Gove, I doe assure you, & so does M^r Randolph

²⁷⁰ This must be Nathaniel Weare, of *State Papers* for 1683 contain many whose complaints against Cranfield the versions.

dolph know, that they are not worth anything else he might be sure, that I would have taken care, that he should have been considered, but out of Goves Estate, which was appraized at 200[£] to be paid in two years, he may depend upon 20 Peeces. The first paym: is to be the beginning of March, & the other 100[£] that time twelve months, but he shall receive his out of the first payment. Pray give my Service to him & M^r Povey, & excuse me to them for not writing, but will by the next. I have writt so full to you formerly concerning this place & the other Colonies. I have nothing more to add, but that I am

S:

Yo^r most ffaithfull and
obedient servant

EDW CRANFIELD

[*Addressed*] for the Hon^{ble} William Blathwayt Esq;

Secretary of Warr

at

Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] 16 Jan: 1683

4

From M^r Cranfeild

Rec^d y^e 11 May

1684

XXXI.

RANDOLPH TO POVEY ON HIS EXPEDITION TO HOLLAND.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Deale Oct: ii. 1684

S:

I arriued here last in pursuance of the Inclosed Instructions and expected to be gone away immediately. but the Command^t had no notice of a voyage so I acquainted of it so that he stayes a day or two to fitt his vessell with necessaryes: I thought it my duty to send you the inclosed that you may know my errand. and if my attendance at the Committee should be required. these papers may bee offred in my Excuse. I intend not to make any long stay beleiving the shippes haue been long since Sayld. and some of the Comm^{dr} were of that opinion also. how euer you see the necessity now of my going. I haue Engaged Mr Pengry²¹ to follow the Bostoners Charter. and Mr Burton²² vndertakes in defence of my prosecutor: whom I hope in a little tyme to pay in her own Coine: I giue my humble seruice to Mr Blathwayt and intreat the Continuance of his and your favour and assistance. God Send me once again well to N: Eng^d lett who^t will go a ffishing for prizes amongst the Hollanders in their own Ports. with a small vessell. I intend to make all the

²¹ Aaron Pengry was commissioned with Burton to enquire into the forfeiture of Culpeper's patent as Governor of Virginia. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1683, no. 1172.

²² Philip Burton was bail for Ran-

dolph in the action for £200 brought against him by Mrs. Culmer (*Supra*, Vol. I. note 495), which is apparently the case referred to here. "In defence of my prosecutor" must mean "defence against my prosecutor."

the haft I can back againe least the winter seize me before
my return : I am S:

your most humble Seru^t
ED RANDOLPH

I intend to write to my L^d Howard advising the names
of the persons who Carried tobacco to Holland that so his
Lords^p may putt their bonds in suite . if he pleases.

[*Endorsed*] Deale : 11 Oct. 84
from M^r Randolph
w^t a [?] Copy of his instructions to seize ships trading in
Holland from New-England.

XXXII.

RANDOLPH'S COMMISSION TO PROSECUTE NEW ENGLAND SHIPS TRADING TO HOLLAND.

[*Enclosure in Letter XXXI. Copy in Randolph's handwriting.*]

S:

Whitehall 7th Oct : 1684

His mast being informed that there are feuerall N.
Eng^d ships trading in Holland contrary to Law. hath there-
fore sent the person who will deliuer this to you . to try if
they can be seized . and therefore hath commanded me to
recommend him to you that you may affit him with your
Creditt and Councell in every thing relating to his Commis-
sion of which hee will give you a perticular account. So
that I shall onely assure you that I am S:

your faithfull Seru^t

MIDDLETON ²³

To

²³ Charles, second Earl of Middleton, followed James II. into exile, though
was Secretary of State, 1684-1688. He he had previously resisted all attempts
to

To S: James Kennedy
 Kn'
 Agent for his Ma^{ts} and
 Conservator ^{mt} of the Priviledges.
 of the Kingdome of Scotland.
 at Campheire
 in Zealand

[*Endorfed*] Copy 7 Oct. 84:
 L^d Midleton's letter
 to S^r James Kenedy
 recomending Mr. Randolph

XXXIII.

RANDOLPH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO SEIZE SHIPS TRADING TO
HOLLAND.

[*Enclosure in Letter XXXI.*]

Instructions to Edward Randolph Esq^r, Collector Survey^r and Searcher of his Ma^{ts} Dutyes in the Seuerall Colonyes of N. Eng^d.

His Ma^{ts} hauing receiued Information of seuerall vef-
 sells of N. Eng^d trading in Holland Contrary to the
 Lawes of Navigation and Trade whereby the Same are
 become forfeited (viz')

At

to convert him to Romanism. He was there cited relating to the Scottish trading settlement at Campvere, now Veere. It was no doubt an *entrept* for the illegal trade of the Scots with the Plantations, and it is remarkable that Middleton should, under the circumstances, apply to their Conservator. Veere is now one of the deserted cities of Holland.

^{mt} "Déjà au quinzième siècle les Ecossais avaient à Veere en Zélande un dépôt pour leurs marchandises administré par un Conservator." *Oeuvres de Huygens*, quoted by Mrs. Green in *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, Vol. I. p. 98 note. A rare work is

At Amsterdam.

The Pink Susanna of Boston John ffrost . Master.

A fmall Bark where of Abell Porter went Master

The Pink Doue of Boston Sam . Carter Master.

At Rotterdam.

A larg Pink whereof Rob^t Glanvill is Master, which Ships
as is inform'd, are, or were lately at the said respectiue Ports.
Besides two or 3 New Eng^d Shipps more dayly expected.
you are by his Ma^{ties} Speciall Command forth with to go in
pursuit of the said vessells to the said Ports of Holland, taking
to your affistance Henry Carter whom you inform us was
lately there and can discouer them.

And for your better Countenance and affiance in the
seruice aforesaid you haue herewith deliuered you a letter
from the Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Middleton, one of his
Ma^{ties} Principall Secrys of State to S^r James Kennedy his
Ma^{ties} Agent at Camphire to affist you therein . to whom you
are to apply for Councill and direction as need shall require.

You are at your arriuall at or neer any of the 1st Ports
respectiuely discreetely to inform your selfe of any of the said
vessells, or any others trading from his Ma^{ties} Plantations
contrary to Law, and to endeavour by the best wayes and
meanes you can the Seizure thereof and Such as you Seize,
that you cause to be conveyed to the next Port of Eng^d that
you can make and putt the same into the Charge of the
Officer there.

And if vpon y^r arrivall at any of the said Ports you shall
find that any of the 1st vessells haue been there, and discharged
their Loding Contrary to Law and are departed, you are to
gain the most certain Information you can concerning them .

that

that so they may be proceeded against . when they shall be found in other places.

And for the Cariing on of this Seruice Cap^t Henry Brown Command^r of his Ma^t Sloop Observator . is directed to attend you . who lyes ready in the Downes to receiue you, on Board . of whom you are forth with to repair who will be also provided with money for defraying the necessary Charge of this Seruice.

And if you shall haue occasion to make vse of the Councell or assistance of his Ma^t Agents at Amfterdam or Rotterdam you haue here with our lett^r. Recommendatory to them to that purpose which you may vse as you shall haue occasion.

If after you haue discouered any of the said vessells . you find any difficulty or oppofition from the Authority of the Place in the seizure thereof . or if after you haue Laid on your hand you find opposition in Bringing them off . you are not to spend tyme in soliciting . but leaue the matter in Charge with the Kings Agents and return heither ;

Custome House . London

8th of Oct : 1684

CH: CHEVNE.

N. BUTLER.

J. BUCKWORTH

W. DICKINSON

[*Endorsed*] Copy/ 8 Oct: 1684.

M^r Randolph's Instructions
to feize Ships trading
in Holland from New
-England.

XXXIV.

XXXIV.

CRANFIELD TO BLATHWAYT DISOWNING RANDOLPH AS HIS
AGENT.New Hampshire Octo: 16th 1684

S:

J receiued yo^r kind Letter, wherein you are pleased to giue me farther assurance of yo^r ffreindship; and att this time the circumstances of my affaires make me presume to call upon you for itt, by requesting you to doe what good offices you can for me to their Ldsh^r as far as Justice & equity will permitt

These inclosed papers ²⁷⁵ are to shew my inocence as to the charge of my factious Enimys here. As their Lo^r are Zealouse for Justice soe I doubt not but they will be so farr tender of my reputation that if the Complain^r make not out their Charge, there may be directions giuen for me to haue my remedy att Law. M^r Randolph has a Letter of Attorney from me, but I haue uery good reasons to barr his acting in any respect for me, wth shall be communicated to you hereafter. wth I pray signify to their Lo^r that I doe reuoake my Letter of Attorney

S^r J amyo^r most faithfull & humble SeruantEDW CRANFIELD ²⁷⁶

As

²⁷⁵ By the "inclosed papers" Cranfield plainly means the long defence of his conduct which he sent to the Lords of Trade on the same day and which is

calendared in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1684*, no. 1895.

²⁷⁶ Blathwayt subsequently procured Cranfield's removal to the warmer climate

As yett the Kings Letter is not come)
 to hand, I have giuen my aduersaries
 notice what affidauits I haue taken in }
 my own defence; & m' Chamberlain }
 hath order to give them Copies. . . . }

[*Addressed*] To William Blathwaite Esq;
 Att Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] New Hampshire
 16 Oct: 84
 From M^r Cranfeild
 Red 7th Ian^v 8⁴

XXXV.

RANDOLPH'S FIRST PETITION TO THE KING TO BE SECRETARY OF NEW ENGLAND.

Colonial Papers, Vol. LIV. no. 71.

To the King's Most Excellent Ma^ry
 The humble Petition of Edward Randolph
 [<sub>inserted
in another
hand</sub>] (to be sec^r of New England)²⁷⁷

Sheweth

That your Petitioner hauing for almost these nine
 years attended Your Ma^rs Service in order to bring y^e
 Governm^t

mate of Barbadoes. On 1st December, 1684, Cranfield writes to him (letter in Mr. Blathwayt's Collection): "Sir, I give you many thanks for yo^r procur-
 ing me the Order of Councill to remove to Barbados or Jamaca, especially at this tyme, my health more than ordinarily re-
 quiring of it." His commiffion as Gov-

ernor of New Hampshire was revoked 29th. November, 1684 (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1684, no. 1970).

²⁷⁷ This is a different document to the one printed *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 38, and nearly a year earlier.

Governm^t of Boston in New England to a Regulation and due Conformity to Your Ma^t: Authority, and Since they haue neglected their Duety Your Peti^{cō}ner has attended y^t prosecution of their Charter to effect so y^t Judgm^t is entered vp against y^m for Your Ma^t and their liberties & Priviledges are now become forfeited to Your Ma^t

Now for as much as Your Peti^{cō}ner has encountered many Hazards & dangers by Land and eight voyages by Sea in order to reduce y^t People to their Obedience and has not hitherto received any Compensation for the Same,

Your Peti^{cō}ner humbly prayes Your Ma^t in recompence of these his Services graciously to bestow vpon him the office and Place of Secry and Recorder of Your Plantation and Colony of the Massachuset's Bay in New England

And Your Peti^{cō}ner Shall euer pray &c

[Endorsed]

M^t Randolph's Petition to be Secry & Recorder of y^t Massachuset's Colony

Read & approved the 8th Novemb^t 1684

B. C N^o 1

8. Nov: 1684

Pet^t of M^t Randolph to bee Secr^y of New England.

XXXVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT FROM DEAL.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Deal: No^{br} 19th 1685

S:

Could I haue foreseen my stay here would haue been so long I would not haue made such hast from the Plantation Office.

Office . but I was haftned away by my Masters of the Custom house : I haue been troubled with a Ague and a fitt of the Gravell occasioned by coming a shoar in a Great Storm from Our Ship : I thank God I am somewhat better but go not out of my Lodgings :

S^r you haue added to your former favors in taking care to procure me Mr ffroudes²⁷⁸ Deputation . which God fending me safe to New Eng^d shall be improued for his Ma^w Seruice and the accommodation of the Country :

By a ship which arriued yesterday in the Downes from Nevis²⁷⁹ tis reported, That the Deputy Gou^r of that Island had such apprehensions of Monmouths prevailing that hee devided the men into three parts and made one third raiſe new fortifications to Secure that place from being attackd by the Rebells : I would heartily rejoice that all our dispatches were perfected I feare wee shall be beat off the Coast and then it may be the latter End of Aprill before wee can come to Boston : I intreat you to preſent my humble Duty to s^r Robt Southwell and accept of the hearty thanks of S^r

your most obliged and most
humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

[Addreſſed] To William Blathwayt
Esqr.

XXXVII.

²⁷⁸ Philip Froude was one of the Clerks to the Lords of Trade, but held a patent as Postmaſter General. The "Deputation" in question is that of Postmaſter, (*supra*, Vol. I. p. 271; IV. pp. 67, 69, 71). Luttrell's *Diary*, 12th April, 1689: "Major Wildman is

made Postmaſter in the room of Mr. Frowde."

²⁷⁹ For the fortifications undertaken at Nevis, cf. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685, nos. 337, 355, 471. Monmouth had been defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor on 6th July, 1685.

XXXVII.

RANDOLPH TO PHILIP MUSGRAVE²⁰⁰ CONCERNING CRANFIELD.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*

Deal: Dec: 12: 1685.

S:

Altho' my Stay here is much longer then I expected: yet tis some satisfaction: that I haue an opportunity to address to you before I sayle. and there in to obviate. Some ill proceedings both to the great obstruction of his Ma^{tes} affaires under my care and also designd to my vtter ruine: and this I heare is sett on foot by M^r Cranfeild late Gon^r of New Hampsheire: who is newly come to town: and finding him selfe not onely putt by that Gom^r but vtterly disappointed of his Expectation of being Govern^r of the Boston Colony: which he hoped to obtain by my care and interest with the E: of Clarendon to whom M^r Cranfeild by me sent a letter: and instructed me how I should manage with other persons of Quality in his behalfe: hee now charges me with vnkindnes and on the other hand makes me the sole Contriver of his disappointm^t: and finding his Ma^{tes} has bestowed larg markes of his favour vpon me: he, enviing those gracious returnes of my past seruices now (as I am told) vndertakes to inform against me for taking Bribes²⁰¹ during the tyme of my manage in the Office of Collector of his Ma^{tes} Customs.

about

²⁰⁰ Philip Musgrave was only one of the clerks of the Council, but he was brother of Sir Christopher, who was a very active Commissioner of Ordnance. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1683, no. 1418), and was continued in that office under Sir Henry Goodricke after the Revolution.

²⁰¹ This is evidently the charge hinted at by Cranfield in Letter XX. *supra*.

about 2 yeares ago : One Mr Dyre ²²² was sent to N. Eng^d in quality of Surveyor Gen^l to this man M^r Cranfeild applyes and makes a freindship : and then desired him to inform the Comm^l of the Customs that I had taken bribes : and this discourse he raised and promotes without any ground on purpose to stop my voyage and present vndertaking vpon which depends not onely the present settlement of the Boston Colony . but will destroy his Ma^{ies} intentions of bringing all the Colonyes vnder one Gen^l Gon^l Its sufficiently known to my lord Culpeper when in New Eng^d how zealouslly I prosecuted those who broak the Acts of Trade . and was supported therein by his Lord^s countenance : against the whole Gom^l and body of Merchants who oppoſed me : and you may easilly beleive, That the bostoners by their Agents would long since haue informd ag^t me . if they could fix any matter of that nature vpon me : being all along deemed the Grand enemy of that Country and twas their Generall interest to gett me vpon any termes remoued .

So that This charg as he pretends arises vpon a letter which I sent M^r Mason 2 yeares ago dissuading him from violent courses in obtaining his Rent from the Inhabitants
of

²²² For Captain William Dyre or Dyer and his dealings with Cranfield see *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 5, and a chronicle of his adventures in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, nos. 155, 229, 1415, 1486, etc. Some of his iniquities are narrated in a letter from Dongan to Blathwayt (Mr. Blathwayt's Collection) dated 12th May, 1686. Dongan says of a certain sloop: "she came hither haueing nothing but ballast in her and the poor man who was owner

was forced to sell her to defray the Costs of Court at East Jersey, and all because being drinking with Dyre and they quarrelling he told him he hoped to see him hang'd as his Mother was at Boston. I could wish for his Ma^{ies} interest that the Commissioners woud employ a more honest perſon. If all be true that is said of him he is the worſt of men, infamous both for spreading ill reports, and his own Actions."

of New Hamp: in which M^r Cranfeild was too Deepely concern'd . and vpon his seeing that letter he wrote me that he would ruine me if it were in his power and now vpon his Coming to Town and finding himselfe frustrated of all his expectations . he hopes to gain a Creditt by impeaching me; and making a noise to no other purpose Then to ouerthrow my voyage being euery day ready to Sayle :

I humbly intreat the favour of you, to take notice of his manage and if he offer anything to my prejudice : to acquaint my L^d Preston ²²⁸ of it who vpon perving this paper will do me Justice : and Stand by me . so farr: that I may haue tyme to make my defence if needfull : I onely intreat That I may proceed on my voyage and putt in Execution those Comissions which concern the publick settlement and benefitt of that Country : and Then will gladly return to England to vindicate my reputation which has been so often attempted by those whom my diligence in his Ma^{ties} affaires has made my enemyes : I humbly intreat your pardon for this trouble and remain in all Duty

your most humble and most obliged
seru^t ED RANDOLPH

my humble Seruice to my L^d
Preston : and to S^t Christopher Mufgraue :

I haue not wrote one word to M^r Blathwayt about this matter because I haue not heard any thing from him. I know he is my freind :

[Addreſſed]

²²⁸ Sir Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, was afterwards Ambassador to the Court of France. He was all but executed for his share in a Jacobite con- spiracy in 1698. He was at this time one of the Lords of Trade. *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 129.

[*Addressed*]

To the Hon^d Phillip Mufgrave
Esq₃
present:

[*Endorsed*]

Deal: 12 Dec. 85
From M^r Randolph
to M^r Musgrave.

XXXVIII.

SOUTHWELL TO BLATHWAYT ON CRANFIELD'S CHARGES
AGAINST RANDOLPH.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Kings Weston — 6. Jan. 1685
6

Deare S:

J was yesterday tempted to carry my Company here to Bristol, to see some naturall Curiosities wth m^r Cole one of y^e Custome officers, & a great collectour of rarityes, has putt together. There I heard of m^r Cranfeilds being in towne, & presently after he came in, telling me yt vpon sight of my livery he could not forbeare to find me out.

In a very short time he fell to rayle bitterly ag^t m^r Randolph . and to leap over all the Rubbs y^t I flung in the way That he had sent home affidavits ag^t him, & other malefactorrs in y^t Country but that all his Complaints were supprest. That He had Contended with . 2 . open Rebelions in his Goverm^t and thought it a blessing to be well ridd of It. And the more since M^r Blathwayt had been unkind to him I asked him, whose fault was it if he had caught a Tartar. and found some disappointm^t in the thing he soe much

much desired. He told me he never had desired y^t Goverm^t and y^t it was onely y^t Importunity y^t made him goe. He would haue utter'd more of his Resentm^t ag^t you if he had not found it Inconvenjent. But I suppose he does it with s^r John Knight,²⁸⁴ where I am told he has struck up as formerly.

When I mentioned M^r Randolphs many dangerous voyages & great service He rayfed his owne meritt about all Saying he was a Gen^tman well borne²⁸⁵ & y^t his Grandfather was the first that discovered the Gunpowder Treason, but y^t Randolph was a scoundrell &c:

You see how I want subject of Converse when I entertainc you with this stuff . but tis not amisse y^t you know what is stirring, and how y^t friend m^r Cranfeild takes in with the discontented.

Our small company here are well & I am ever

S^r your most obe^d & most
humble servant

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

[*Endorsed*] Kings Weston
6 Ian^v 8^t
From S^r R : Southwell
Has seen M^r Cranfeild.

XXXIX

²⁸⁴ Sir John Knight was one of the most turbulent citizens of Bristol in the seventeenth century. He was active in the attempt to get a "Quo Warranto" issued for that city (Latimer's *Annals of Bristol in the seventeenth Century*, pp. 412, 416). Cranfield's acquaintance with Knight probably procured him the ap-

pellation of a "base Tory" (*supra*, Vol. I. p. 279). Cranfield is not otherwise mentioned in the *Annals*.

²⁸⁵ Cranfield was probably of the family of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex (1575-1645), and was consequently connected with the (later) Dukes of Dorset.

XXXIX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF
MASSACHUSETTS.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Hon^d S^r:Boston: May 17th 1686

I thank God after my very tedious and dangerous passage I am safe arriued here the 14th instant to the Great Joy and satisfaction of many of the best men in this town and Country. I haue deliuered his Ma^{ties} Commission etc: to M^r Dudley which hee most readily accepted wee this day meet to convene the other Gent. and in a few dayes shall obtaine a good issue: of which and all other proceeedings I doubt not but you will haue a plentifull account by M^r Mason whom I mett here in town ready to imbark for London: but Its necessary for his Ma^{ties} Seruice to stop him here, which will plead his just excuse, in not appearing to answeare to M^r Vaughans Appeal²⁶⁶ at the day appointed which with my humble Seruice presented to S^r Rob. Sowthwell . M^r Guin²⁶⁷ . M^r Musgrae and all freinds I remain S^r:

your most humble Seru^r:

ED. RANDOLPH

my

²⁶⁶ Mason did return to England. He was back on 13th October (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 905), and asked for the Appeal of Vaughan to be heard at once. The Appeal was dismissed (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. 1104), and Vaughan had to pay Mason £20 for his expenses (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. 1054).

²⁶⁷ Luttrell's *Diary*, 5th December, 1679: "Sir R. Southwell has resigned his place (as clerk of the Council) to Mr Francis Gwynn." Gwynn was a witness against Shaftesbury at his trial, and afterwards became a Member of Parliament and Secretary to the Earl of Rochester when the latter was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He married Southwell's daughter.

my humble Seruice to M^r Pouey
whose excuse I intreat because
I haue not tyme to write him

to M^r Blathwayt yours to Coll Dongon is sent away

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}

William Blathwayt Esqr.
at the plantation Office
Whitehall.

[*Endorsed*] 17 May 1686

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d the 23^d June 1686

XL.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON HIS FIRST FAILURES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston: May the 29th 1686:

S:

in my last of the 17th instant I represented that I arriued
the 14th instant: This acquaints you that the 25 following
the pref^{at} and 14 of the Councill mett at Boston and tak-
ing the oathes were entred vpon the Gom^t M^r Champernoon:
was so much indisposed that twas not possible for him to
come to Boston: Butt old M^r Bradstreet and his son wholy
refused to accept the Commission as a thing contriued to
abridge them of their libertye and indeed against Magna
Charta: and Mr Saltenstall also diserted vs: in whose places
are very proper to bee inserted: Richard Smith of Narra-
gansett:

ganfett : M^r William Brown Junior: the third I leauie to M^r Masons nomination who is coming ouer vpon the next ship which will in a short tyme sayle from hence : I cannot omitt to acquaint you that M^r Wharton out of a pure zeale to quiet and peaceable treatment has carried himselfe very odly . and twharted what euer has been proposed by my selfe the presidient or the loyall part of the Councill. he has been dissatisfiied that he was not made Registrer : and opposes Major Bulkleyes being putt in Commission for the Castle : he is a man of Sincere Loyalty : and I know not any man amongst vs so fitt for that place as hee is : and that he might haue some encouragement to Support the Charge and expence of being Cap^t of the Castle : wee thought to add the place of provost martiall to be executed for him by a deputy : S^r you cannot do his Ma^{ts} greater seruice then to recommend him to that Trust : Mr Mason will vouch for his integrity and Duty to his Ma^{ts} our tyme has been taken vp with making Officers of the Militia and Justices of the peace . and on munday next wee haue a Committee to examine the accs of their Treasurers and receiuers; wee are euery day employd in preparing methods of proceedings in Courts regulating the abuses of Juries . and many other matters of moment complaind of, and now I feare The Treasurey of this Country is departed with the old Magistrates. There is a necessity either to haue the mint here regulated or to haue money from England for since they haue Ceased coining their money is euery day shippd off for England or other countryes so that tis a hard matter to gett 100^{lb} in siluer. I haue not opened my mouth about the province of Main least that would raise a mutiny for

Seuerall

Seuerall of the Old Magistrates and Deputyes haue cutt themselues out large dividends and disinherited many who were in possession vpon antient titles before the Indian warr; and the poeple were strangly posseſſd of bringing in popery. and a little matter at my first coming would spoil all : for the Gen^l Court was then sitting and would hardly be perfwaded to know their duty: they ſent a very humble request to M^r Dudley representing to him the many dangers would arife vpon his accepting the Commission : they vſed arguments to him to refufe to aſt : and then they ſayd his Ma^{ts} would never take further care of them: But he laught at them and carried himſelfe with great prudence and resolution. I haue notwithstanding made a great progreſſe about the procuring the maſts and by next ſhip ſhall ſend M^r Secry . Pepys my Contract fully compleated tho twill be next May or 2 or 3 months longer if ſnow prevent before I can haue them ready to ſhip off.

I haue likewife been forc'd to conceal the Quo Warr^{to} ag^t R^d Island and ConneCticut Colony : leaſt they ſhould all combine and ſtand out : but I ſhall haue by me to go to thoſe parts and muſt do what I can by perfwafion for the writts were by my tedious voyage out of Date 15 dayes before I arriued : I treat them at a diſtance with proffession of great freindſhip . and the fight of the frigott may operate more then a legall summons : you will beg pardon for not ſending our Addrefſe which wee cannot avoid to refue for M^r Maſon to bring ouer : his Company is ſo abſolutely neceſſary that wee cannot ſpare him till the next Ship from hence : to whom wee ſhall referr you. herewith is the firſt

of

of our Authority²⁸⁸ : which with my humble Service Is
humbly presented by

your humble and most
obedient Seru^t

ED. RANDOLPH

M^r Stoughton is declared Dep^y president : he is very
moderate and hearty to serue the King.

S: I am to add that M^r Master²⁸⁹ a Kinsman of M^r Mus-
graues will be taken care of by the president vpon your
recommendation so soon as wee come to settle Courts which
he is best acquainted with all-tho' he carryes him selfe very
idly : Its hoped tyme and experience may work an alteration
in him for the better. E. R.

To M^r Blathwayt

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d
William Blathwayt, Esq^r

[*Endorsed*] 29 May 1686. to William Blathwayt From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 20 July 1686.

XLI.

²⁸⁸ Randolph is referring to the Proceedings of 25th May, *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 80.

²⁸⁹ This is probably Gyles Master, who assisted Randolph in his suit against

Mather, *supra*, Vol. I. p. 192. If so, the description is peculiar, as he was almost certainly one of Randolph's own kindmen, *supra*, Vol. I. p. 2.

XLI.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT TO RANDOLPH.

Colonial Papers, Vol. LVII. no. 104.

Hartford June y^e 11th 1686

honoured Sr:

Your Letters of y^e 27th of May Past and 2^d of June Instant²⁹⁰ Our Govournour hath recd and tho' he was under great indisposition of body by reason of a dangerous bruise he hath recd, and the great distance and absense of some principle members of y^e Councill, then, on his Maj^{ties} Service, yet as soon as was possible he conven'd the Councill at Hartford this day and communicated the contents of Your Letters to them which gives Us information of Your good affection and earnest endeavours to Serve his Majesty, as also Your desires of y^e welfare of this Colony with Your own advice thereupon.

In referrence to which we Congratulate your Safe arrivall from England and the quiet and peaceable accession of his Majestyes President and Councill to y^e Goverm^t of the Sev-
erall provinces by his Majesty placed under them.

As to y^e Quo Warranto's against this Colony of which we cannot tell w^t return to make to yo'relf concerning them yet You may assure Your Selfe that it is our duty and shall be our endeavour to approve our selves his Maj^{ties} faithfull and

²⁹⁰ Randolph's letter of 27th May is given *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 78. That of 2d June seems to be entirely lost. Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 505 refers to the *Records of the*

Colony of Rhode Island, Vol. III. p. 198, for the statement that "Governor Clarke of Rhode Island hastened to addres to him (Randolph) a fulsome addres of welcome two days after he landed."

and loyall Subjects, ready to observe what we shall understand to be our duty, thereby to divert whatsoever may justly procure his Majestyes Displeasure agaist us and for the obteining his royall favour towards us which with our respects to Your Selfe and the Hon^{ble} President and Councill with You is all at present from

Your affectionate Friends
and humble Serv^{ts}
The Gov^r & Councill of his Maj^{ses}
Colony of Conecticut
p y^r Ord^r signd
p Jn^o Allyn Secry

[*Endorsed*] N : England 11 June 85
Copie of a Lett^r
from y^e
Gov^r & Council
of Connecticut
B. G. N^o 26

XLII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE STATE OF THE COLONY.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : June : the 19th 1686

S:

I hope before this tyme M^r Mason has acquainted you that wee haue gott the Goverm^t of this Country in our hands and thats all . for so long as there are most of our Councill men of great designes who will beleive no other then that this change was intended onely to advantage them you may expect

expect to heare of no great matter done for the Publick : when Connecticutt and Road Island are reduced to which end I am now taking a very warm journey. I beleive his Ma^{ts} Quitt rents may amount to about 3000^l a yeare with the dutyes vpon wine and liquors. I can neuer say too often . that this is a very poore place and . Tho' wee talke dayly of thousands and ten thousand acres of Land yet tis very hard to gett 100^l paid even by the great proprietors : I haue told M^r Povey how Courſly the [y]deal with me : but S^r Edmonds coming ouer will make a more throw reformation : pray S^r be pleased to remember me : M^r Wharton driues hard at me because he was not made register : I am at great charg and a continuall trouble attending . but I see nothing more coming then what I haue paid me in Eng^d and thats one argument of their contracting me here and now ſince M^r Mafons gone they haue forgott both him and me I wish the attendance of all happines to your affaires and am S^r

your moft obliged
and moft humble Seru^r
ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt

Maj^r Bulkley is a very honest loyall man his heart is almost broak to ſee the Gon^r and Company of the Maſſachusetts Bay ſtill in power by vertue of his Ma^r late Commission and wee can find hardly any but their Creatures to putt in Office : I haue onely to accept M^r Jō : Vſher whom for many reaſons beſides being of the Councill wee haue Chofen treasurer : he is a man of a very good estate & true to his M^r interest : which is to giue place when the Narragansett affaires come to be diſcourſd

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discourſd in publick. M^r Mason will attest this: my humble ſeruice to S^r Robert Sowthwell and to M^r Sowthwell.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d:
 William Blathwayt
 Esqre.
 at the plantation Office
 present

[*Endorsed*] Boston 19 June 86
 From M^r Randolph
 Rec^d 6: Aug. 86

XLIII.

RANDOLPH TO POVEY ON HIS OWN TROUBLES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston June 27th 1686

S^r:

Last night with the President I returned from the Narragansett Country ²⁹¹ where on Wednesday last his Ma^{ties} Commission of Gom^t was published in Court the Deputy Gon^t of Road Island and one of their Magistrates were present and quietly assented to it, and I expect no further Claim to be made by them to that Country. M^r Wharton with others concernd stay behind and are directed to treat the Tertenants ciuilly.

I left with the Gon^t of R : Island a Superannuated Summons of the Quo Warr^{to} and had assurance from them that they would surrendere their Charter and he discourſd me about the

²⁹¹ For this expedition of Dudley to Rhode Island, see Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 506 note. He declared a provisional government for the Narragansett Country, renamed the towns there, and decided favourably on the claims of the Atherton company.

the manner of doing it. But at my return to them from the Narragansett they desired a fortnights tyme to consider of it and would answear me from their Gen^l: Court . perhaps they will try with Cott^t: Dongon vpon what termes to be vnder the Gom^t of N. York for in my absence they receiued a letter from him to that purpose:²²² They are a sad sort of Mortalls as you euer heard of, and who knowes but reveng vpon our Colony they may (if in their power) subiect them selues to that Gom^t which will perfectly ruine vs all for wee haue most part of our fflesh from thence . and should he gett Connecticott Colony to whom he has also writt, we should be in danger of Starving for wee haue great part of Our Corn from thence. This is a matter worthy your care and will be recommended to Mr Blathways favour and directions there in for 'tis of Great import and wee are concernd to obviate so great a mischeife;

I discouer'd the Gon^t of R : Island about the 1000 acres of Land granted to the late L^d of Clarendon by their Gen^l: Court:²²³ they putt it off by very absurd doubts; and if they cannot avoid it will lay it out in Warwick township : but I do not as yet presse this matter further hoping by the next ship to send their Surrender—I looke vpon R : Island to be the best land and for that quantity the most profitable part of New England. The Quit rents there will be of great value towards support of this Gom^t I expected to meet some of the Magistrates

²²² The correspondence between Dongan and Treat is contained in the *Record Office Papers (Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1686, nos. 729, 751, 805, etc.)*, and is also given

in the *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III.

²²³ For the 1000 acres of land granted to Clarendon, see Cranfield's Letter (XXVIII.) of 5th October, 1683.

Magistrates of Connecticutt at the Narragansett but they were so weak as to feare I would make an attachment of the Quo Warranto and giue them personall trouble at that distance from home. I intend to be with them in 14 dayes tyme: then the letter from N. York may force them to a surrendre also: otherwise you haue tryed what a scire facias ²⁰⁴ will do and must to that extream remedy. you may please to remember I wrote from the Downes to haue Quo Wa^{to} returnable in next Mich Term: fearing a long passage but haue not receiued any . and they may be so imprudent as to stand out and take advantage vpon the losse of tyme:

S: this day at noon . I ioyfully receiued your welcome packett filld vp with Newes my lord Delamers tryall ²⁰⁵ and your letter of the 3 of Aprill . which advises the progress of a larg settlement of N: York Gom^t Our Gom^t will be quite ruined shoud but the Sowthern part of Connecticott Colony . which was (as by a Grant to that Colony) many yeares setled vnder the name of Quinnepiet or New Haven Colony con-sisting of 4 townes : and by their joint consent in 1662 annexed in their Charter to Connecticott: The N. York Gom^t makes vs pay after the Rate of 6 per cent for all Goods im-ported from thence to our Gom^t besides thosoe poeple will neuer agree to be subiect to N. York: in regard they haue been all along part of vs: S: I thought before this tyme to haue procured a handsome present to M^r Blathwayt and to

your

²⁰⁴ Palfrey in his *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 392 note, discusses at great length the difference between a *scire facias* and a *quo warranto*.

²⁰⁵ Henry Booth Lord Delamere was tried for treason in December, 1685,

and acquitted. An account of the trial is given in Luttrell's *Diary*, Vol. I. p. 369. He was son of the Cavalier hero, Sir George Booth, and probably brother of George Booth mentioned below.

your selfe for your great care and zeal in the settlement of this ingratefull Country. but in the first place certainly they are very poore, hauing no Assembly to raiſe money vpon the poeple more then what is now paid by the excise vpon Wine and Rum. and retailers of Beer and Cyder: besides I haue not yet demanded the money you were ſenſible I was out of purſe about ſoliciting their buſines which thro' M^r Blathways and your extraordinary favour I obtained with very great difficulty.

Neither haue they giuen me thankes for procuring them their liberty in Matters of religion. Had wee all the Colonyes will [sic] ſetled vnder our Gom^t as now it is called N. England the Quitt rents and other eaſy impoſitions will amount to nigh 4000^l per ann. N. Eng^d money: pray affiſt M^r Maſon about our Mint and be conſiſtent that you ſhall fiſt your advan-tage in all my concerneſ: But at preſent I haue little more then the troublſome title of Secry and Sole register for they haue placed the Register of Wills with the Clerkes of the County Courts. and the Records of Sales and Mort-gages with them alſo: fo that the Cheife end and publick benefitt of a Gen[#] Register is quite deſtroyed, ſome tyme ſince M^r Wharton offred me 50^l a yeare to haue the regiſtring of Deeds etc: for 3 yeareſ and ſaid he would in that tyme make it worth to him 150^l a yeare. But ſince my refuſal I do not ſee where I can make 60^l a yeare of both Offices of Secry and Register. At my arriuall I hired a ſtrong new Brick house and pay 60^l a yeare Rent. that no objection might be made againſt keeping the Records in my own houſe, and I am to haue the Country [sic] Records brought to me: which are of publick Concern but of more trouble then profit: but the

the beneficall perquisites of my Office are alienated : which I haue just grounds to represent being vnwilling to be lesned in any part of my places which his Ma^{ie} has been pleased to reward me with all.

I haue not pressd that the full sum paid in Jamaica. should be allowed of here. I haue said the Country is very poore but I see not why I should be incroached vpon and the country is no way eased, for my profitts are disposed of to others. I leaue this with you as a testimony of my dissent . and expect to haue orders for reparation from Whitehall vpon your representing my humble Complaint to their Lord^{ps}.

my humble Seruice to M^r Blathwayt to whom I wrote by this ship . of the 19th instant and beleive that I am S:

your most obliged and most
humble seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Povey :

[*Endorsed*] Boston 27 June 86

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 3 Aug: 86

p[er] Cap^t

Sam^l: Legg

Narraganset Contrey Setle^t

as to the Governm^t

Rhode Island served wth

Quo Warr^o consider^s of
submitting

E. Clarendon's 1000 acres

Packet of 3 Apr: rec^d

XLIV.

XLIV.

RANDOLPH TO SANSOM,²⁹⁶ ON HIS DISPUTE WITH GEORGE.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston June 30th 1686

S:

My two Letters of the 19th & 30th Instant To the Right Hon^{ble} the Commis^{ion} of his Majestyes Customes advise my Seisure of three Vessells One from france which unliverd her Wine and salt off at Sea the other two a small Pink and a Bark are loaden One from Scotland and the other from the Canaryes in order to their tryall on monday next of all which I hope to give a very good account by the next Shipping.

Here ariseth a warm dispute between Cap^t George and my Selfe about the right of Seizing such Vessells that are within Our harbours. I find my Self and my Deputyes by his Ma^{ties} commission under the great Seal to be empowred thereto. But Cap^t George²⁹⁷ insists upon the power granted to admiralls and other Commanders at Sea &c^a by the 12th of the late King, besides if he cannot be admitted as a Cæsar he Expects to be allow'd of as an Informer and so to prosecute in behalfe of his Majesty and thereupon to obtaine one third part of the forfeiture.

I am abundantly Satisfyed to see the Interlopers thus discountenanced and provided it be alwayes legally and effectually

²⁹⁶ John Sansom was at this time Secretary to the Commissioners of Customs.

²⁹⁷ For John George, see Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. II. p. 98. Charnock chronicles his appointment

to the Rose, but strangely adds, "after which time his name does not occur in the service." He was killed in action against the French 24th May, 1690 (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 898).

ually done it matters not to me by whom such service is performd for his Maj:^{tie}, but in as much as hither to I find by the Acts of trade & practice of other places that it is my Duty to seize and prosecute for his Ma^{tie} I do not see how I can omission of that part of my Duty having no directions for so doing in my instructions. I am.

y^r Hum S^r

ER:

[*Endorsed*] Copy of a letter
to M^r Secry
Sanfon
June 30th 1686

XLV.

RANDOLPH TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston, June 30th @ 1686

Right Hon^{ble}

Since myne to yo^r Hon^{rs} of the 19th Instant to w^{ch} I humbly Referr, being Returned wth the Presed^t from the Southern part^t of this Country, I had information yesterday morning at 4 a Clock that a smale Barque called the Swallow from the Canaryes Joshua West m^r burthen about 40 tons was plying neer the shore between Cape Cod & Cape Anne about 3 Leagues distant from Nantasket, I straightway went aboard the Rose ffrigott Cap^t George Command^r Rideing at Anchor in Boston Harbour, and Desired him to man out his Long boate wth 4 Pattarero's and bring the said Barque under Command of the Castell w^{ch} was accordingly done ab^t 2 in the

the affternoon, the master came to enter his Pink wth mee, but the Presed^t would not admit him, I then Seized her & her Loadeing for his Maj^t in order to her tryall. / about 60 ton burthen this Afternoon, the Pink Succels of Chester Joshua Glover master came to an Anchor in Nantasket Road : he came to the Presed^t & my selfe Desireing Leave to Wood & Watter pretending hee had been a long tyme at Sea, and was bound from London to Virginia, he produced his Cocquettts but not being Satisfactory the Presedent ordered him to be brought under Command of the Castle, I intend to go on board her & seize her & loading wth is most Scotch goods in order to her tryall & Condemnation :

I haue provided boates & my men are Diligent, but I dare not Expouse my selfe or them as farr as Nantasket wth lyes a League below & out of Command of the Castle : when his Maj^t shall Graciously please to fau^t us wth an affsembly wee shall bee able to Raife money to Keep a smale vessell of about 30 or 40 tons out at sea wth 6 or 8 small Gunns & well man'd wth will be very serviceable in plying between ou^t Capes & will wholy Confound the Interlopeing trade : I humbly take Leave & Remain

yo^t Hon^r most humble
& most Obedient Seru^t

[*Endorsed*]

30 June 1686
Copy of a letter
to the Comm^r of
his Ma^r Customs

XLVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON HIS DIFFICULTIES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blashwayt.

July: 1: 1686

S:

Inclosed I send your Hon^r copyes of the letters I now haue dispatchd to the Comm^r of his Ma^r Customs : and their Secretaryes that you may see I haue not beene Idle . in the affaires of the Custome house : and also a copy of a letter from the Gon^r and company of Connecticut Colony : I intend to go theither in 10 dayes tyme and Giue them a Summons to appeare tho' the Writts are out of Date :

Here has arriued by M^r ffoy from London amongst others one D^r Mourton a Non Conformist minister . he I heare is to be preferrd to be presidant of the Colledge. wee haue been very vnhappy in our choice of Military Officers and Justices of the Peace, being for the most part church members ; and but two Cap^t in Boston come to heare divine Seruice ; I question not but wee shall haue multitudes of phannatticks flock ouer heither twere necessary That none be admitted to stay here vpon the place but such as will take the Oath of Allegiance that directed from the Councill chamber to vs otherwife t'will never be confiested to by vs.

Cap^t George Commander of the Rose proues a very troublesome man to me especially in the busines of the Custome house : and takes it very vnkindly that I will not suffer him to seize ships in the Harbour which is my duty and office to do as Collector of his Ma^r Customs : which greatly discourages

courages my officers : I humbly referr you to what I haue
very largely wrote to M^r Povey and remain S:

your most obliged and most humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d ffor his Ma^{ts} seruice

William Blaythwayt

esqr.

at Whitehall

By Cap^t Legg

[*Endorsed*] Boston 1 July 86

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 3 Aug.

XLVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON FINANCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTIES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S:

Boston. July 12th 1686

I haue receiued a letter from Road Island with the inclosed
direction but vnder a private Seal : so that some of the Cheife
of the Island fearing tis but a Cheat and evasion . haue
desired me first to speak with the Gon^t before I send it : I
find there is a great difference betwixt them : the Inhabitants
fearing they shall all be laid to N : York : which will be to
the vtter ruine of this whole Country. I go from thence
to Connecticott : where Coll: Dungan has sent before hand
to invite them vnder his Gom^t

Wee haue very seldome Councils and then little done
besides quarrelling : and agree in nothing but Sharing the
Country

Country amongst themselues and laying out Larg tracts of lands. I can gett nothing to passe as yet about the Acts of trade. M^r Stoughton and the presid^t cannot agree . at least they seem openly and in Councill very often to quarrell : the presid^t assumes to him selfe the whole Gom^t I am forced to say little in regard wee haue but a very thin Councill feuerall liuing remote are vnwilling to meet at Boston : and I feare they will throw all vp : wee haue had 4 shippes seized 3 tryed : the Presid^t most vngratefully (thinking I can do him no further Seruice) letts Cap^t Georg in to the profits of my Seizures : I haue one ship to try which I shall haue Condemnd : she is worth about 400[£]

there is great necessity that S^r Edmond Andros make hast ouer for wee are in great Confusion : the Council suppose as the Gom^t is in them so they ought with the president to haue a share with him in all the Seizures : but he will keep his third part.

S^r I am called Register . but no man comes and records their deeds at my Office. his Ma^{ie} may if he please raise a great revenue here . for not one Grant of Lands in this town or Colony is passd vnder the Seal of the Colony if wee seize but a ship or two more the Interlopers will be quite ruined : I haue feuerall boates out and hope yet to meet with them : but the Presid^t and Cap^t Georg endeavour to putt me out of all busines here . and discourage all such whom I haue sett out to sea : to seize prohibited goods. the President very much countenances our Non Conformist Ministers and to their Great Satisfaction leavues M^r Ratcliffe a worthy sober man to depend vpon 12 or 14 Gent^t who are his hearers for a maintainance . and expect the Charge will make vs glie ouer :

ouer : pray moue the Lords That all persons Coming from Eng^d Scotland etc : into these parts may giue an account of their names to the Secry : and the place of their last residence in England to be transmitted quarterly to there Lordshipps . wee haue 30 passengers come ouer some from the west of Eng^d . and a very fine Gent . whom I haue not seen : I haue reason to suspect them because none of them come to Our Church. And that no minister coming to vs from Eng^d etc . be admitted to preach in publick vntesse he produces a Testimoniall from my lord of London : I intreat your favor and assistance in these difficultyes made me by my extraordinary kindnes and relying vpon the greatest hypocrite in the world : he thinks he cannot bee safe in his projects so long as M^r Mason and my selfe are of the Councill : I feare my Coufin Mason will find the ill effects of his too much depending vpon the Loyalty of the presid^d who will admitt of the Great Turk for advantage. I am S:

your most obliged seru^t

to M^r Blathwayt

ED RANDOLPH

S: Since they will not allow our Minister a Church or any maintainance : be pleased to moue that he may haue 20^t a weeke paid him out of the Contribution money collected in the 3 meeting houses in Boston : which 3rd weekly will support him and vpon that fund raise money to build vs a Church :

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d
William Blathwayt esqr.

[*Endorsed*] Boston 12 July 86
From Mr Randolph
Rec^d 13 Sep^t 86.

XLVIII.

XLVIII.

RANDOLPH TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston July: 23rd 86Hon^d S:

I am safe returnd from my wildernes work hauing travelled round the Country by way of Road Island to Stonington thence to Hartford from thence to Major Pincheons at Springfield and so to Boston which in England would make 300 miles: I haue inclosed to M^r Blathwayt an Ad-dresse from the Gon^d and Company of R. Island: they so call it but they mean by it a Surrender and vpon reading it feemes some what like it: but in case it do not answear the end they intend to send another vnder the Seal of their Colony: Now the Inhabitants of Road Island haue a great jeloufy that the Quakers who are now in Gom^d intend to petition his Ma^{re} that they may be joyned to York Gom^d I am well assured there is a strict correspondence betwixt Coll Dongan and the Quakers and they are gott into a fooles Paradice hoping they shall be continued in the Gom^d and pay not one penny towards support of N: York: and I know they haue sent papers by a boat expresse to N. York to accomodate affaires betwixt them. and that being once added, They will haue the Main Land from the South bounds of Connecticut with the Narragansett and the townes of Warwick and Providence; by which meanes they will contract our Gom^d and take away the most vsefull part of N. Eng^d from vs: and now to Hartford where on Wednesday last weeke I mett

mett the Gon^t treat . he gaue me great respect as he thought when he told me he had an honour for all persons who came from the Imperiall Crown : I tooke it so and in return presented him with the Quo Warr^o told him the meaning and desired an answear (Major Talcott,²⁰⁸ Allen and one M^r ffitch—Magistrates being present) wheither they would Surrender or send ouer an Agent instructed to make their defence.

much tyme being spent I expected their resolues — but I was questioned by what Commission I was impowred to bring a Quo : Warr^o to them : I told them I left that vpon record in Eng^t ready to be seen by their Agent : I find them very indifferent wheither they surrender their Charter or suffer his Ma^{ie} to take it by processe at law : as also vnder what Gom^t they fall but had rather be continued independent with some small alteration in their Lawes : the truth is they are discouraged by Cap^t George putting men aboard their vessells coming to Boston : and also by our Presidents dis-obliging carriage to the members of the Councill : but rather by private letters advising them to protract tyme that the presid^t and others may enjoy their places of profit and advantage ; hoping thereby to prevent or at least delay the Coming ouer of a Gon^t:

here has been very fine work betwixt our Presid^t and Cap Georg. a Scotchman was come to Nantasket vpon sight of the coquett I found it forged and sent Cap^t Georges his long boat to fetch her vp : the Presid^t admitts him to prosecute as

an

²⁰⁸ For Major John Talcott and this transaction generally, cf. *supra*, Vol. IV. note 11. In that note "Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary" is apparently a mistake for "Conception", which falls in December, the Purification or Candlemas being in February.

an informer they carry the cause from me haue her apprized at 600^l but afterwards 700^l was bid and paid they haue shared the money the presid^t has his own and his Ma^r third part : which Cap^t Georg and hee intend to beg of his Ma^r pray call on M^r Savage and you will find how much money in all how much money is in the presidents hands which pray beg of his Ma^r towards your charges in Coming ouer : I referr you to my letters to M^r Blathwayt in which you will see some late transactiōns of Cap^t Palmer ²⁰⁰ and M^r West

wee are in a very great Confusion Their Ministers crying out open mouth against the Common prayer : and to dissuade poeple tell them that whoremongers and adulterers shall sooner go to heaven than thofe who follow will worship. Major Bulkley is a very good man : and can hardly be perswaded to come to the Councill seing so much folly and passion at all meetings. M^r Usher is the onely perfon of a Church member who stands vp for the Common prayer, and has been checq'd in Councill for advising Allen and other Ministers to attend their preaching onely and not inveyst^g the Common prayer : and those that go to heare it.

my humble Seruice to my Lady Andros : my wife has mett here with worse treatment from Cap^t Georg then from Cap^t Billop ²⁰⁰ : being libelled in a most scurilous manner : and

²⁰⁰ Captain John Palmer, Judge of New York, is mentioned *supra*, Vol. I. p. 299, together with West, as getting embroiled with the French. (The letter to Blathwayt referred to, is printed in part in Vol. IV. p. 97.) At the Council meeting of 27th September, 1686, at Boston, he is mentioned as having requested the seizure of a vessel for

which apparently Randolph had been blamed.

²⁰⁰ Christopher Billop was a friend of Dongan (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 237, where "Mr. Billop" is erroneously printed "our Bishop"). He had a plantation "opposite Amboy" and allowed goods to be illegally landed there (*Calendar of State Papers, America and*

and other abuses which will oblige her to come to England if Shee can meet no satisfaction here : S^r please to remember in your instructions that you may haue the power of disposing Ministers liuings : and to grant liberty of Conscience with limitations : there is as y^r Hon^r will find at the Plantation Office a Grant to a Corporation for Evangelizing Indians : they haue a great stck of money here : pray procure a Commission to examine in whose hands that money now lyes in ? how it has been bestowed ? and to call all persons to an account and that that money may be ordred to build vs a Church and maintain our ministers : In this with your Hon^r speeding a way to vs, you will oblige all good men here : and especially

your most humble and most
obedient Seru^r

to S^r Ed. Andros.

ED RANDOLPH.

my wife joines with me in our hearty and humble seruice to my lady Andros to y^r Hon^r and to madam Craven ³⁰¹ : pray gett directions for a Gen^l assembly : I hope no delayes will be putt vpon your coming over vpon the busines of Connecticott you may assuredly expect their surrendar vpon your arriuall

and West Indies, 1685, no. 23). His connection with Mrs. Randolph's troubles is not apparent. In Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. I. p. 381, his career as an officer of the Royal Navy is accurately set forth until 20th July, 1680, after which Charnock could find no trace of him till 1692. In the meanwhile he had plainly been a planter in America, and in 1690, as commander of Lord Carmarthen's (then

Lord Kiveton's) yacht, had captured Lord Preston and other Jacobites on their way to France. As a reward for this, probably, he was appointed to a 90 gun ship in 1692—a fine example of the laxity of the Navy service in those days.

³⁰¹ Andros had married Marie, sister of the Earl of Craven, and this is probably her niece or sister. (*Andros Trials*, Vol. I. *Introduction*.)

ariuall their Colony being mentioned in the Commission also . with R. Island and N. Plymouth. E. R.

Major Winthrop M^r Wharton and some of their family intend for England as they say about a the fall of the yeare, E. R : pray obtain my lord of Londons order for Probate of Wills to be in your selfe. Its a great occasion of dispute with M^r Dudley and M^r Stoughton : the former exercising the power of Ordinary without any directions vertute officij: as president

[*Addressed*] To S^r Edm^s
Andros.

[*Endorsed*] M^r Randolph
9th of S^r 86

XLIX.

PART OF A LETTER FROM RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT OF 28TH JULY, 1686.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S^r: Whereas in the letter from our Councill in answere to their L^{dd}: letter relating to Mr Radcliffe:²⁰² M^r Wharton who has vndertaken to draw vp that letter: has putt down 100^{lb}: a yeare arising by our Collection toward M^r Radcliffe maintainance: tis very false for tho' wee did once or twice collect in our Church about 40^l: a Sunday, yet it is to be considered

²⁰² The bulk of this letter is given But for some reason this important (with the usual variations of spelling) paragraph is omitted. The Council's in Hutchinon's *Collection of Papers*, Recommendation of Mr. Ratcliffe is and is reprinted *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 97. given *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 65.

considered that wee haue many charges to be paid out of that collection: and Clerks wages and our pulpett . etc. and their saying as our numbers increase so will our contribution: It's more like they will rather lessen vnder so great discouragements: and shortly many Gents now of our Church will return home to the forain plantations who for 2 or 3 months come to spend their tyme with vs: and 50^{lb} New Eng^d money is as much as wee haue giuen in wee are able to allow our Minister . who is a very sober man:

To William Blathwayt

esq₃ :

L.

DUDLEY TO BLATHWAYT ON THE QUO WARRANTO FOR
RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Hon^{ble} S:

Since my last to yo'self there haue been three Judgements for his Majesty against one Scotch and two ffrench Ships at the pursuite of m^t Randolph and Capt: George which being very much Robbed and Rifled were sold but at mean vallue, but will advance to his Majesty about two hundred and fourty pounds, or thereabouts towards the supply and refitting of the Rose Frigatt, an exact Acco^t whereof I shall make as soone as the Charge is knowne. her winter Voyage was so long and hazardous that her repaire &c^a will be a very Considerable Cost, & I should be very Glad of particular Orders for his [her?] Disposall or returne if her service
here

here be not judged worth the Expence; I Have by the last humbly written to my Lord of Sunderland for Direction referring to the Canaryes whether they be allowed to the West Indias and ships to come free from thence to vs in which it will bee needfull that wee be advised, because m^r Wharton the Judge of the Admiralty hath Demurred an Issue upon that point, M^r Wharton likewise adviseth mee that he is necessarily bound for England Speedily and I pray a direction for the supply of the Judges place that his Majestyes Service may not be neglected, and that some members may be added to the Councill for the supply of four or five vacancyes without whome wee are seldom able to get a Quorum, M^r Randolph hath with great paines and Travell served the Quo warrantoes upon Rhode Island and Connecticut Goverm^t and Laboured their absolute and Intire submission to his Majesty which the Govern^t of Rhode Island writes mee they will now performe by these ships, what Connecticut will Do is uncertain and I am apt to beleive they will not resolve themselves, untill they be Determined by his Maj^{ys} Disposall of them, and because neither Rhode Island or Connecticut are able Distinctly to support a Governm^t by themselves, his Majesty wee humbly suppose will annex them, either to the Territory of New England or York and I humbly offer that if it be Considered that they are the Principall parts of the Countrey whose Corne and Cattle are raised for the supply of the Great Trade of fishing and Other shipping belonging to this his Majestyes Territory & without which wee shall not be able to support our Trade with bread; his Majesty will graciously please to Annex them here or at least Command a free and uninterrupted trade

trade without Duty for Cattle and Corne between all the severall parts of the Countrey without which wee shall be greatly distressed, his Majestyes Government here is I hope in all things duely administred, and submitted unto though I am not without feares of some inconvenience by an adjournment of the generall assembly of the late Goverm^t untill Octo^r which yet I fear not our ability to prevent w^t shall by all meanes be Endeavoured: In the printed papers sent in the last ships which M^r Mason will shew you the Probate of Wills and testaments and Graunting admin^{str} is Declared to be in the president as Judge thereof for the time being, as the Govern^t is in all other his Majestyes forreign Plantacons, in which if I might obtein the favor of a direction for the manner of procedure, & my duty therein & any further power if needfull from my L^d of London. I humbly pray yo^r pardon of my troubling you therein; as being a thing absolutely necessary, and which m^r Mason will solicit if he may therein be directed by yo^r hon^r:

Yo^r hon^r most humble

Servant

J DUDLEY

Boston 31 Julij 1686.

m^r Blathwait.

[*Addressed*]

To the Honorable

William Blathwayt Esq

at the Plantation Office

Whitehall

[*Endorsed*]

N. England 31 July 1686

from M^r Dudley

Rec^d 14 Sept: 86

LI.

L.I.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT COMPLAINING OF GEORGE
AND DUDLEY.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*

Boston: Aug: 23. 1686

S:

I cannot avoid giuing you new trouble and desire you to favour me in prosecuting my petition to the Lords of the Committee of trade and obtaine for me their Lordships Order: which I hope will be directed to S: Edmund Andros Our Gon: for whose arriuall alt good men pray: wee are in dayly expectation to heare newes of A pyrate wee haue sent after Cap: Georg lyes here in harbour twould be more for the Service of the Country that he were out Cruising vpon the Coasts: but that is the Presidents busines: who studies to perplex me in all my affaires: and hopes to make his fortunes before the Gon: arriue: wee hourelly expect to see Capt Saint Lo from Bermudas from whence I had advise that Bath . Sharp³⁰³ was aboard the Dartmouth frigott³⁰⁴ and

ready

³⁰³ Bartholomew Sharpe had a most interesting career. Originally a buccaneer, he had apparently reformed his life and was cruising for the King when, on calling at the Bermudas, he found the islands in a state of revolution and the life of the Governor (Richard Cony) in danger (Nov. 1685. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 918. Richard Stafford, one of the Bermuda malcontents, writes to a friend (John Tucker) that he and others were sent off in the Dartmouth to New England, and badly treated. "Randolph came on board pitied us much, blamed our guards for not releasing us, and gave us a letter to you." Randolph was plainly no friend of Cony—a most inefficient and incapable Governor, and the last appointed by the Proprietors of Bermuda.

³⁰⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 918. Richard Stafford, one of the Bermuda malcontents, writes to a friend (John Tucker) that he and others were sent off in the Dartmouth to New England, and badly treated. "Randolph came on board pitied us much, blamed our guards for not releasing us, and gave us a letter to you." Randolph was plainly no friend of Cony—a most inefficient and incapable Governor, and the last appointed by the Proprietors of Bermuda.

ready to fayle heither I am now going to Piscataqua . to seize a vessell. tho I gett nothing by it yet I make others great loofers and shall break the Interloping trade to which M^r Wharton is a kind freind: M^r Mein^{**} Surveyor Gen^l is with me and speedily returnes to Virginnia. I humbly take leaue and am S^r

Your most humble Ser:
my humble service to Sir R: Sowthwell ED RANDOLPH
mr Blathwayt

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayt Esq₃.

[*Endorsed*] Boston 23 Aug 1686
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 21 Oct.
Desires an Order upon
his Pet^r to the Lords,
Sharp is coming to the
Berm^d wth Cap^t Saintlo in
the Dartmouth.

LII.

^{**} Patrick Mein seems to have held the post of Surveyor General on the coasts of America—an office which Randolph afterwards filled. (See *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685, no. 970, for his commission.) Mein appears, however, to have been chiefly active in Virginia.

Randolph several times alludes to him in subsequent letters, and from the *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Vol. II. pp. 458, 465, it may be inferred that Randolph appealed to him as a sharp officer to give evidence against the irregular traders of Pennsylvania.

LII.

EVIDENCE AS TO GEORGE'S INTERFERENCE WITH RANDOLPH'S SEIZURES.

Colonial Entry Book, Vol. LXIV. p. 77.

At a Councill held in Boston
Oct. y^e 21st 1686

David Simpson Mirriner ³⁰⁶ belonging to his Ma^{tes} Frigot the Rose, examined touching his going on board the Ketch Providence from Newfound Land Joshua Rawlings Master and of his opposeing the Collectors men, and the Depositions relating to the Said matter being read before him, the Said David Simpson owned that M^t Condon Lieutenant of his Ma^{tes} Frigot the Rose Sent him thither with express order that neither M^t Randolph nor any of his officers nor any others Should take the Said Vessell out of his possession, and added that he was comanded by the Said Lieutenant to wait on board the Said Ketch and See if there was any occasion of Seizure, and Seize the Same.

LIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT AS TO GEORGE AND SAINT LOE.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S:

Boston : Oct: 29th

Since our temporary Gom^t is so vnhappily circumstanced that we are in no condition to represent our Greivances to the

³⁰⁶ For the affair here referred to, see *supra*, Vol. IV. pp. 126-128.

the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Trade or to the Commⁿ of the Customs . vnder the Seal as wee ought to do in regard M^r Dudley our Presid^t has to his own pri-
vate interest encouraged Cap^t Georg and Cap^t Saint Lo²⁰⁷ openly and in a base manner to trample vpon and vilifye not onely the perticuler persons in the Councill: but to suffer them in open Court to disown their Authority I haue thought it my duty to trouble you with the inclosed Copyes which were openly read and sworn to in Court: to the end such papers and Complaints sent ouer ag^t me by those 2 Cap-
taines may be abated till S^r Edm^d Andros has had a full hearing and Certified the matter to his Ma^{re} be pleased to lett M^r Wharton²⁰⁸ haue a Copy of his fathers paper : these matters giue me a great deal of trouble and hinder my other busines. my humble Service to S^r Rob^t Sowthwell and to M^r Chaplin : all M^r Mafons busines goes backward in his province, I humbly remain your most obedient

Seru^tTo M^r Blathwayt

ED RANDOLPH:

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayt Esq³

[*Endorsed*] N : England 29 Oct : 86
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 18 Jan^y 8^t

LIV.

²⁰⁷ For George Saint Loe, see Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. II. p. 95. He was really a distinguished officer, who in 1690 was captured by the French, after a fierce fight, and taken into Brest severely wounded. He employed his enforced leisure there in compiling a series of acute observations on the French navy. He never

held another active command, but was appointed Commissioner General at Plymouth, and was retired in the general changes made on the accession of George I. See also Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, Vol. IV. p. 81.

²⁰⁸ William Wharton was at this time resident in England (*supra*, Vol. I. note 560).

LIV.

WHARTON'S DEPOSITION ENCLOSED BY RANDOLPH.

*Colonial Papers, Vol. LVIII. no. 81.*To the Hon^{ble} the President and Councill

Richard Wharton one of his Ma^{ry} Councill and Judge of his Ma^{ry} Court of Admiralty &c^a

Declareth and deposeth: That on the 20th Instant the Deponant being requested by M^r Randolph to accompany him and hear the Complaint of his Deputy against a person then in the Constables hands, and being going up the street towards M^r Ushers, intending there to examine the matter, Cap^t George and Cap^t Saintloe mett M^r Randolph and the Deponant, and without any provocation in a Violent Scurilous manner, put Sundry Short and quarrellsome Questions, but had not patience to hear, or receive any Answers but run furiously upon the Constable upon the Constable [sic] with their staves lift up against him, causing a great tumult and Royot, and according to the Deponants best observation Cap^t George struck at the Constable, the Constable holding up his Staffe in this Deponants Sight to defend him Self, upon which Cap^t Saitloe rayld very much and called the Constable Dogg, and being reproved by the Deponant, he againe rayled useing much loud and rayling Language and Said why did the Dogg strike first? upon this furious behaviour of Sd Captaines the tumult much increased, and the Deponant seeing not how the Same would be otherwise Suppressed if they and their men further endeavoured a Rescue or Violence to the Constable, prayed them

them to be peaceable or otherwise he Should be constreined to raise the Towne, to which Cap^t Saintloe replyed, You shew what You will be at, You will be ready to raise the Towne against his Ma^{ry} Authority, with many other Loud and railing expressions, and Cap^t George alsoe said now they did see what kind of hands the Government was in, and often repeated they were a Company of pittyfull little fellows with other reflective and abusive Speeches, both upon the Government, and M^r Randolph, and the Deponant: The Said Cap^t George in the street telling the Deponant he deserved to be whipt and if he had him in place where he would whipp him. The Deponant further Sayth That Captaine Saintloe neer m^r Ushers door very abusively and violently rushed with his cane in both his hands upon the Deponants breast pretending to shew him how the Constable managed his staff in the Fray, and held it up over the Depon^t head, and Sayd, if the Deponant had done what the Constable did he would have broken his head. and afterwards in M^r Ushers house threatned the Deponant with Some unkind treatm^t if he caught him on the Water, with many other Scurrilous and abusive language. And the Deponant further Declares that Captaine George after many provokeing words to M^r Randolph Threatned M^r Randolphs Officers to whip them raw and perticularly to Erasmus Stephens that if he Saw him upon the Water passing by his Ship he would take him aboard and whip him till he were Raw, And Cap^t Saintloe when the Deponant was writing a Mittimus for David Simpson told M^r Randolph it would be better for any of us to Send him to Our Own homes and put him into Our own bedds then to Send him to prifon.

This

This if it be thought needfull, I am ready to depose upon Oath, and pray that due regard may be had, unto and care taken, to maintaine the Authority of the Governm^t, and that the S^t Captaines may be animadverted on according to their behaviours, and if they justify themselves that the matter may be further examined and represented under the Seal of the Government to his Majest^y

R^d WHARTON

Copia

[*Endorsed*] N. England 1686
 M^r Wharton's Repre-
 sentation touching Cap^t
 George & Cap^t Saintlo
 Rec^d frō M^r Randolph
 18 Jan^r 1684
 B. C. N^o 17

M^r Wharton's
 Representations
 read before the
 Councill unto
 Cap^t George & Cap^t S^r loe
 October 21 1686

LV.

LV.

RANDOLPH TO SIR JAMES HAYES.

*Board of Trade, Hudson's Bay, Vol. I. p. 35.*Boston No^{ber} 20th 1686.

S:

Since the receipts of your obliging letter of ye 4th of Aug^t: wee haue had here a new face & ye expectation of S^r Edm^d Andros coming to be our Gon^r putt^s a great check vpon the Old faction, w^{ch} has been as stoutly supported by many in y^e new Gom^r as was formerly by the Old members: and M^r Dudley wind miller like has turned to Euer^r Gale: but in despite of them all wee haue gott the town house for our Church of Eng^d where wee haue divine seruice twise euery Sunday: & prayers wednesday & fryday mornings: & haue some tymes 7 or 8 children with their parents baptiz^d at our Church: & 3 or 400 Hearers: But not one of y^e Councill except my Selfe, and not about 2 or 3 of our Church in any publick imployment Civil or Military: Thus much relating to our affairs: [*inserted above*] Here begins w^t concerns y^e Hudsons Bay Compa— (There is lately a report from New York that the French of Kebeck haue again invaded & taken from your Company at Hudsons Bay 2 or 3 of y^e Forts: the French trade at fort Albany (belonging to New York) and A french man who was lately there reported this for truth: which I haue reason to beleive when a Merc^r who was not long since a mongst the french at Kebeck; told me the late attempt vpon y^e people was carried on by Some of y^e Inhabitants at Kebeck & when they heard



heard that Mr Bredges was arriued & complained at Court they expected to be called to account & obliged to giue full satisfaction, but finding that matter at present delayed they haue been from thence encouraged to make this further attempt: I will be glad to be mistaken: the french at Nova Scotia are very high & imposing vpon our fisher men. Our Gov^r will haue not a few complaints of that nature.) [*inserted*] It ends here. my humble seruice to S^r Edw^d Dering,²⁰⁰ to S^r Thomas Roe & his sister: Cap^t George has acted very imprudently & occasions ye people to crye out against his Ma^{tie} Gom^t certainly as matters are now circumstanced wee can do his Ma^{tie} no better seruice then to convince the people of the prefereablenes of his Ma^{tie} Gom^t not yet setled by laying aside paſſion: and treat them with Justice indifferently adminiftrēd to all a thing they haue not till now been acquainted with: they are very numerous and its farr easier to affright them into a Rebellion then Obedience I shall think my ſelfe happy to receiue y^r Hon^r commands in what this place may accomodate your publick affaires: at leaſt that I may be continued in the number of those who pray heartily for the proſperity of Hudsons Bay Company to which I freely acknowledge my Seruice at all tymes and am S^r:

my Seruice to M^r Walker
to M^r Bradley and to y^r
good Company at y^r

Your moſt humble and moſt
obedient Sern^t
E. RANDOLPH

Bull

²⁰⁰ This is Edward Dering, the younger ſon of the Dering mentioned *ſupra*, Letter XXVII. He was brother-in-law of Sir Robert Southwell, and was at this time Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Bull head :

my wife has been very dangerously
sick, is now recouvred & returnes hearty
thanks for your kind remembrance of her.

To S^r Jā Hayes³¹⁰

LVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON ANDROS'S ARRIVAL.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : 22 : Dec : 1686 :

S:

The great favour of y^r letter of the 16th of October last was enhancd by the hand of His Excellence S^r Edm^d Andros who arriued here on the 20th instant and was I may say euen miraculously preferued from being cast away vpon a rock at Cape Ann where they continued in Extraordinary Danger almost halfe an Houre. His Excellence was received at his Landing here with the Huzzaes of an innumerable company of poeple placed by the water side for his reception : they are already sensible his Ma^{tie} has sent them ouer a Gon^r they all make very humble and dutyfull Court to him : and as to my own part, since you haue been pleased to follow mee in to these parts with your favourable recommendations to his Excellence

³¹⁰ James Hayes of Beckingham, Middlesex, was knighted on 28th June, 1670. He married the Countess Dowager of Falkland, and died 2d Feb., 1692. He was, with Prince Rupert, one of the original grantees of the Hudson's Bay Territory, and was Deputy Gover-

nor of the Company from 1675 to 1685. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Dering. Hayes River was probably named after him. (Cf. Beckles Willson's *The Great Company*, Vol. I. p. 47; II. p. 318.)

Excellence I doubt not but in tyme to find the benefitt and advantage thereof, yesterday his Excellence was pleased amongst other Gent^t to bring Leiftn^t Treffry³¹¹ to dine with me hee told me he was related to you. I haue earnestly desired [him] to make my house his own. I can neuer do enough to expresse the duty and gratitude I owe you for those many blessings you haue bestowed on me.

I shall attend y^r directions and his Excellence has promised to look into the occasion that has made me so troublesome to all my freinds at Court,³¹² and assure you no man shall easier passe by those vndeserved affronts: before the frigatts arriuall I sent my Summons to M^r Danforth late Presid^t of the Province of Main to account with me for the revennu and money imposed by him and by his order collected there, you will also so soon as this present Hurry of busines is ouer haue from me the accounts of Mr Vshers Receites and disbursm^ts and of the treasurers of the late Gon^r and Company but hitherto the latter haue been very vnwilling

³¹¹ Thomas Treffry is commended by Blathwayt to Randolph as "my cousin" (*Jupra*, Vol. IV. p. 217). He was involved in the fate of Andros and was imprisoned and sent home with him (*Jupra*, Vol. IV. pp. 289, 290, and *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 283, etc.). For his connection with the Vivians of Truga and so with Blathwayt, whose sister Frances had married into that family, see Maclean's *History of Trigg Minor*, Vol. II. p. 251, etc.

³¹² Dudley understood the position far better than Randolph. Andros never dreamed of giving offence or creating difficulties to please the Secre-

tary. Dudley writes to Blathwayt in Aug. 1687 (letter in Mr. Blathwayt's Collection): "I do not see that since his Excellency's comeing Mr Randolph hath gained one penny of the money or one point of the victory which he so often promised himself upon the Govern^r comeing. I never intended him harme nor shall ever do him any other than service while I have power so to do. I shall never strive to ballance Mr Randolph's complaints of mee with any against him, but I beg yo: pardon to say that I believe him to be as uneasy as ever and that his temper will not suffer him to be very happy."

vnwilling to account with me. S: be confident I shall see your patent Dueley executed. I haue sent the Quo Warr^{to} to the Gon^r of Connecticutt the Gon^r and my indisposition would not allow me to vndertake so long a Journey this winter tyme. Its accompanied with a very easy letter from the Gon^r to them and that attended with others from M^r Dudley M^r Wharton and others of the Councill and wee think to catch the Sturgeon

Summons are Gone out to the late Gon^r and members of New Plymouth Road Island and likewise to all the distant members of this late Gom^r to be present at a Gen^{ll} Councill appointed by his excellency on the 30th instant. I haue onely to add that I am S:

your most humble and most
obedient Seru^r:

ED RANDOLPH

To M^r Blathwayt,

[Addressed] To the Hon^r
William Blathwayt Esq₃
present

[Endorsed] 22 Dec: 1684
From M^r Randolph

LVII.

LVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON ANDROS'S REFORMS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : ffeb : 3 : 1686

Sr

I can lett no opportunity passe without my letter from hence which I send by a small vessel vnexpectedly bound for Eng^d and advise in generall: That his Excellence gaue me your letter to me of the 3 of November and humbly thank you for your continued favour in my busines I am well assured to find all releife and Countenance from his Excellence, in my feuerall Stations as occasion may require in order to a quiett enjoyment thereof.

His Excellence on the 22 of December¹¹³ communicated to the Councill all publick letters relating to the affaires of this Gom^t as well that from his Ma^{tie} of the 19th of Oct: enjoyning a strict inspection and care of the Revenue as the other of the 31 of Oct: relating to a mint and also a Letter of the 24th of Oct: from the Lords of the Committee for Trade : all which with your Commission of Surveyor and Auditor Gen^{ll} were ordred to be entred which his Excellence will promote with all zeal : his Excellence has taken care to haue the Records of the Country putt into my Custody and a place is appointed in the Councill house for their reception : by them the former methods of the late

Gom^t

¹¹³ The Council did not meet till tained in the letters summoning the 20th December, so that the communication mentioned must have been con-

Gom^t will be easilly inspected : there are found some of the accounts of M^r Russell²¹⁴ who was treasurer about 4 yeares ago : and also his discharges from a Committee appointed by the Gen^l Court to audite and settle them : but I haue sent to him for to account with me and to M^r Danforth Presid^t of the Province of Main to bring their accounts with their vouchers : which with the accounts of M^r Visher Treasurer during the late Gom^t of Presid^t and Councill I shall send by a Good ship which is in a little tyme to Sayle from this port : you haue incloſed M^r Danforth's opinion of the province of Main : which will not now ferue his turn : the Councill haue ordred the Raising a Rate of one penny in the Pound to his Ma^t for support of the Gom^t it will not amount to 1000^{lb} : N : E : money, The Castle forts Carriages for the Gunns and all things else relating to the publick are so farr run to ruine that twill cost a great deal of money to putt them in reasonable repaire.

A committee of some of the members of each colony is appointed to revise the Lawes of the Seuerall Late Gom^t and to Collect out of them a body fitt for the vfe and Benefitt of this territory which when digested will be fent ouer to the Lords :

There are no small endeavors betwixt the Landed men and the Merc^t how to ease the publick Charges : The Merc^t are for Land Taxes : but M^r Dudley Stoughton and others who haue gott very larg tracts of Land are for Laying all vpon the trading party and hope by their former Lawes relating to their posſeſſion : to haue all their Lands assured to

²¹⁴ James Russell was Treasurer in him arrested for £5 due to him for a 1682 when Randolph, as he says, had fine. Cf. *supra*, Vol. I. p. 168, etc.

to them without obtaining Grants from his excellency for their Confirmation and as to quitt rent they are vnwilling to think of it nor has his Excellence hitherto offred at it : his care at present is to putt the Collecting of the Impoſts on Wine Liquors etc. in a better method which will ſome-what improve the Revenue. his Excellency has likewife recommended to the Councill That ſtrict meanes be vied to make thoſe goods which are ſhipd off from hence to the West Indies (as beefe pork ffish Boards etc : in reputation abroad, by haue[ing] ſworn Officers appointed who are to take care That thoſe Comodityes are merchantable : and fitt for markett.

Our poeple think it hard to haue money raiſed without an Aſſembly, forgetting t'was their ministers who formerly chose both their Magiſtrates and Deputyes of their Gen^l Courts :

his Excellency has ſent a Duplicate of his Ma^{ie} order relating to the Colony of Connecticutt : they haue not yet concluded to Surrender their Charter they haue appointed a meeting of their Gen^l Court, and ſome from thence of the moderate party advise their Generall inclination to be vnder this Gom^l I heare M^r Sprag¹¹⁵ Seſtry to Collonell Dongan is going for England, to labour to gett that Colony annexed to N : York : which will be very detrimentall to vs in many respects for from thence wee are ſupplyed with Great quan- tities of pork peafe etc : without which wee cannot ſend out our fishing boates to ſea : and indeed t'will ruine that Colony for their whole trade and dependance is vpon vs :

The

¹¹⁵ John Sprag was Secretary of New York ; he remained in England after the Revolution and was ſtill there in Decem- ber, 1689. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 667.

The Messenger his Excellence sent to N: York about the delivering vp Pemmaquid is returnd: Coll Dongan will take order to haue it done so soon as weather and the Seafon of the yeare will permitt:

Our Councill meet the last Wednesday of this month: the result of their proceedings you shall haue a particuler account of, as also of the late Gom^t which is ready by me you will haue by the next ship: being vnwilling to entrust this more then with a single letter:

my humble seruice to S^r Robert Sowthwell to M^r Guin

I heartily congratulate your quiett enjoym^t of the Place of Clerk of the Councill: my humble seruice to M^r Pepys by the next I send him a satifactory account of all my proceedings in the Province of Main and am S^r

your humble and most obliged

Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt.

Cap^t Trefry is very well and giues you and M^r Povey his humble Seruice:

[*Endorsed*] N. England

3 feb^r 1684

From M^r Randolph

Received 25 Mar 1687

LVIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston March 14th: 1686

S'

I hope mine of the 3 of febry is receiued, I there in wrote you that his Excellence had delivered me your letter of the 3 of Nōber : That his Excellence had received feuerall letters in a packett from Whitehall of the 19th of Oct^r of the 31 : October and from the Lords of the 24th of October : etc : I was very large in that letter and pray you to be referrd to it :

This accompanyes the feuerall Acts made in our Coun-cill, as also a Breviary of their proceedings I forbear to trouble their Lords^m with a perticular relation of private passages, yet zealously debated, as Ministers Maintainance Free Schooles etc : pressd to the height ag^t Q^r and others not disposed to contribute to such charges : Walter Clarke late Gon^t of R : Island cannot assent that Quakers should be destreignd for not paying Ministers Rates : this subject vpon every occasion tooke vp a great deal of tyme : I am conscious of my defects in managing the trust of Clerk of the Council : a place full of trouble an no profitt; I ex-pe^ted the Gom^t should make an allowance for one to serue in that station : you will see by my papers that I want good assistance. His Excellence has taken great paines to settle civill and Military Officers thro' the whole Gom^t and would willingly employ good men in all places of publick trust, but

but that must be a work of tyme his justice and good tempor to all has made many procelites.

Amongst the Acts that of the Revenue passd with greatest difficulty . because of the word (continue) in the Commission, tis meant to be a standing charge vpon the Country . which was hard laboured at to be declined . but his Excellence would not recede; Tho' greater propofalls were made in exchang for it : and it passd . not without some hesitation to the Great Landed men; this will not amount to 1000^l a yeare N. E. money at the moft; and confidering the charg and coſte in collecting will abate aboue a fourth part . but the annexing it to the Gom^t makes it a heavye opprefſion. I herewith ſend the account of M^r Nowell late Treasurer, he produced Orders of the Gen^l Court for his vouchers and the receites of the Magiſtrates for the money he paid them: his Predeceſſor M^r Ruffell has not yet brought me his account but iſſits vpon a diſcharg of a Committee appointed on purpose by the Gen^l Court to Audite his Accounts : but that done juſt vpon my arrivall. you haue herewith alſo M^r Viſhers ac‐counts from the beginning of our young Gom^t to the con‐cluſion . with his Vouchers; and nothing paid without Order of the Councill, there is yet remaining in his hands about 50^l which is ſecured for the Auditors fee : his Ex‐cellence has putt a ſtop vpon it : and twill paſſe by an Order, The 50^l paid to me is part of the ſecryes fee: money dearly bought; It did not pay the ordinary charge of a clerk and writing papers which tooke vp all my tyme while the Presid^t feized the profitable part of my office : I find his Excellence in all respects very obliging, but the

Councill

Councill are as vnwilling to settle my ffees otherwise then formerly; I forbeare to preffe vpon them; till other matters are well digested: The mighty feares and Jelousyes arising about Church affaires are all abated and now the most opposite offer his Excellence the vfe of a Church in Boston. I question not but they will find a way to build vs a Church sooner then wee shall gett a settled maintainance for our Minister: he has the satisfaction of planting the Church of Eng^d in this howling wildernes: hee deserues very well hauing with great patience and resolution supported himselfe with a very very fmall allowance. he giues you him [sic] humble service and thanks for remembred him and his affaire at the Councill Board. Our trade dayly decayes and the prohibition to fish on the french coast of Nova Scotia on the one hand and the Spaniard taking our shippes at Salt Ter Tudos^{ns} will quite destroy our fishery: the only (tho' weak) support of this Country:

His Excellence has tryed all wayes to engage the Colony of Connēcticutt to a Surrender of their Charter; their being laid to N: York will wholy ruine this Country and except 3 or 4 persons in their Gom^t: I heare they are all well dispos'd to be annext to this Gom^t: of which more by the next, however the prosecution ought vigorously to go on ag^t their Charter; his Excellence omitts no opportunity to promote his Ma^{ies} Service; Butt tis a great vnhappines to find men so inclined to the old way, that they can hardly be brought off where the common interest (as they beleive) is concernd

^{ns} For the trade with "Saltertudos," October, 1700, printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IV. p. 513, see Bellomont's letters to the Board of Trade, 13th May, 1699, and 15th etc.

cernd; they are fond of Indian Purchases wee want a man vntinterested to make a Judge to trye Their titles betwixt his Ma^{ts} and them: I hope to see all do well: I haue onely my humble thanks to return for all your favors and remain S^r

your most humble and most obedient Seru^r:

ED. RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d

William Blathwayt
Esq.

[*Endorsed*] N. England 14 Mar. 87

From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 18 May 87

LIX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT, ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

March the 31: 1687

S:

the ship being yet with vs I further acquaint you that I haue (as well as I could) audited M^r Vshers accounts Generall; of Expences in the tyme of the late Presid^t and Councill. I haue seen vouchers for all his accounts which I now send ouer and are referrd to in the Ballance General I intreat you if I am wanting in the form of the Audit by 3 or 4 lines to direct me for the future; I could not gett the originall receites to vouch with you in Eng^d I am well acquainted with the occasion of the Charge and you see who governd as well the Common as other mens private concernes. nothing of publick expence and payments were made

made but by order of Councill which I send by this ship :
S: It's no small vnhappines to find in our whole Councill
not one man but either by private Interest or faction is
touch'd, the Generallity are posseſſd of Great Tracts of Land
by Indian purchase (at beſt, or not ſo well) and theſe will
ſtickle hard when their titles of Land are questioned : I am
confident here are hundreds of Inhabitants who haue aboue
1000 acres of Land in their poſſeſſion that cannot raife
money to pay for paſſing a Grant to conſirm them : Our
Councill conſiſting of 26 perſons has in it but 3 perſons who
are of the C. of England : the reſt are Quakers Anabaptiſts
and either members or followers of the Congregationall
Churches. you may from thence make an Estimate at what
rate his Ma^{ie} interest can be carried on : his Excellenſe
meets with great diſſiculty the Councill are not frank and
hearty in his Ma^{ie} ſeruice They are very reſervd where
their interest is concernd, Its a great vnhappines that wee
cannot find fitt men for Judges. there are here amongſt vs
but 3 perſons of all the Councill who do tolerably under-
ſtand to execute that truſt Stoughton Dudley and Bulkley.
the 2 former haue vast tracts of Land and will be vnwilling
vpon a tryall for his Ma^{ie} to giue it ag^t them ſelues for the
concern is generall and I beleiuē not 10 men hold of a better
Title then Town Grants or Indian Purchase and not Three
haue a Grant legally executed : wee cannot expeſt matters
to proceed regulerly vntill wee haue encouragement to main-
taine and ſuport good men from England to be judges :
who will not be drawn to neglect or oppoſe his Ma^{ie} interſt
and Rights :

I haue been very much plung'd and vneaſy in regard I
cannot

cannot meet an able vnderstanding man to assit me in the Secretaryes office I was forced to be clerk of the Councill because I could not gett one to supply that place: neither am I acquainted with the methods in England in drawing Orders Commissions etc: which much occasion trouble and dissatisfaction because I cannot giue these quick dispatches which are expected. I hope I may by some meanes procure one to take that Office vpon some confideration It is yet aboue 100^l in my Debt besides my Trouble, his Excellence is ready att all tymes to favour me and is very solicitous on my behalfe: pray lett vs haue the continuance of your assitance in bringing Connecticut to be vntited to vs: wee can not here at present raise aboue 1000^l a yeare perhaps when the Country are putt vnder quit rents to his Ma^{ie} it may amount to 1000^l a yeare more but that will be the Highest and as they haue managed Connecticutt that will bring in 1500^l yearly if not more. So that by that addition a Gon^g may be supported and liue honorably: but can not gett an estate here, the Country is very poor and are fatally declining, and I can see no way how it may be repaired; our shopkeepers break euery day. and I beleive euen in Boston should the Merc^{ts} of Eng^d be earnest for their Debts not twenty Shopps will long be open in Boston. I am hourly expecting M^r Nowell to bring me the vouchers for his acco^{nt} which depends most vpon Orders of the Gen^l Court: I haue sent a copy of the acts (I send you) to my L^d Sunderlands Office, wee print nothing which giues me abundance of trouble and charg and no profit. I intreat you to favour me in representing my papers to the Lords I am at great expence and can haue no good
clerkes

clerkes to do my busines as it ought: and those at no Command and cannot mend myfelfe in this debauchd' place: my humble seruice to your fifters to Mr Parry and to all our freinds I once more take leauue and am S'

your most obliged Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

I haue desired M^r Clarke who has for some tyme preachd here to wait vpon you whom I heartily recommend to your favour.

S^r please to write his Excellence about the fee of the auditor of this Gom^t and if the allowance of 5th in the hundred be the fee or some other fee is allowed in any other plantation pray write about it, Its the least part of our Duty to pay you all respect, who haue been so kind and so constant a freind to this Country: the addition of Connecticutt will improue that branch of your income: his Excellence nor my selfe had nothing from you but a verball discourse and I think I am not mistaken in that Summ

[*Addressed*]

To the Honb^{le}

William Blathwayt

Efq₃

S^r

[*Endorsed*]

30 Mar 87
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 17 May 87

LX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE SECRETARYSHIP.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston: May 21: 1687

S:

After my most hearty and sincere Congratulations of your happy marriage, I return you my thanks for the favour of yours of the 29th of March which I received by my good freind M^r Mason: by Cap^t Wear I sent amongst other papers the account of M^r Jo Vsher our Treasurer. I knew not well my power wheither I might object ag^t any article, where I found a voucher, you haue it as it came to me, allowed of by orders of Presid^t and Councill: I haue very often pressid M^r Russell late Treasurer for his account his answear is that tis passd and allowed of by the Gen^l Court and lodgd in the Records: I shall with Cousin Mafons assistance putt your office in the best method I can: wee haue many difficultyes arising on euery turn: and his Excellence has to do with a perverse poeple here is none of the Councill at hand except M^r Mason and my selfe who and M^r Bulkley and M^r Vsher appeare liuely for his Ma^{tie} interest: Maj Bulkley and M^r Hinks are remote and come sel-dom: M^r Dudley Stoughton and M^r Wharton who haue amassd great quantityes of this Country stand for hauing the law of possession confirmd: that it may be in their power to dispose of 10 or 20000 acres of Land but not one foot for his Excellence to grant: and so in conclusion his Ma^{tie} Right to the soile to bee lost or invested in them . and not one penny profitt to his Ma^{tie}

But

But his Excellence is bringing about their title to townshipps and thence to particuler proprietyes: in which will appeare a great fraud for It will appeare vpon a bare grant of the Gen^tl Court That some in England haue laid out some 200^l others double that sum, for land to which the vendors had no title to but a Generall allowance to haue so much land (as indeed they pleased) laid out to some particuler freinds for good seruice done to the Country:

M^r Wharton inspired with a strong perswasion of a Right to all the Narragansett Country lodgd in him and other persons whom he calls proprietors by a notion of a title no wheres fixd either by Indian purchase or Grant from any Gom^t and euery way vncertain is coming for England with full expectation that his Ma^{re} will grant or rather confirm to them what they can produce no title for: and seem vneasy that his Excellence can not agree them to haue a just right to all that Country when as they produce no Euidence for that tract of land a little tyme will discouer these poeple who will serue his Ma^{re} so farr as their interest will permitt. as to my private affaires: I receiued in the Secretaryes office £23 : 8 : 2 during the tyme of presid^t and Councill and 23 : 12 : 6 since his Excellence arrivall: to the beginning of May: and paid aboue 50^l a yeare to a Clerk to write in the office: this has runn me out and I haue been forcd to putt off that place with his Excellence assent to one M^r West for 4 yeares (if I continue so long in that place) for 150^l a yeare: I did receiue 50^l of the Gom^t at the tyme they devided the Spoile before his Excellence his arrivall but they paid 60^l yearly to M^r Rawson; late Secry: I find his Excellence euery way ready to oblige me . but its very hard

hard that the Settlement of my fees must be referrd to the good liking of the Councill who are euery day more and more out of humour and had rather see me and mine starve then assent to what is reasonably proposed and not nigh the Value of what is allowed in other plantations: I did the rather incline to part with the Secrys Office³¹⁷ in regard M^r West who has it is well known to his Excellence and is versd in the busines of Secry: being well acquainted with drawing vp bills Orders etc: and will be carefull to promote his Ma^{ies} interest: the Country labours vnder two dif-eases poverty and Wilfulnes: the Country in generall is poor the Grandees haue money and will not part with it they value themselues vpon their larg tracts of lands and improuements vpon others costs: and I beleive will not easily be induced to take Grants or pay any Quitt rents: Its very necessary to haue an addition of Good men to the Councill: M^r Shrimpton M^r Luscoumb M^r Brenley³¹⁸ and not to be forgotten

³¹⁷ The whole question of Randolph's cession of the Secretaryship is obscure. On the whole, the balance of evidence is to the effect that it was owing to pressure on the part of Andros. Cf. the extract printed *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 168, from a lost letter to Povey, and especially the reference to that letter in the "Narrative" printed in the *Andros Tracts* (Prince Society), I. p. 153: "Enquire Randolph in his letter to Mr. John Povey dated Aug. 25, 1687 complains that West took what fees he pleased . . . John West his deputy who by the exceeding importunity of Sir Edmund Andros hired the place of him." That Randolph lost much by ceding the office just when the new régime was beginning to bring in fees is certain. See further his recommen-

dation of his late clerk (Letter LXII. *post*). Andros had previously been acquainted with West (who was a born Englishman) at New York, and had made him Secretary there. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 323 note 2, says that "Randolph made an advantageous bargain."

³¹⁸ Brenley, Brinley and (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 44) Beenley seem to have been one and the same person. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. 1197 I; 1689, no. 336; and 1690, no. 801. Francis Brinley is joined with Peleg Sanford, John Greene and the two Coddingtons in drawing up an extra-loyal address to the King from Rhode Island. Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 536 note.

forgotten Cap^t Nicholson: who is very zealous to promote his Ma^{tie} interest: and will do great service in the Councill. Nothing has been wanting in his Excellence to bring all things to a good posture, both private and publick he discharges the duty of an Excellent Gon^t but this pople are rivited in their way and I feare nothing but necessity or force will otherwise dispose Them: if I am vnder a mistake it must be ascribed to the assiduity and indefatigable endeavors of his Excellence, who spares no cost or paines to effect what is necessary to be done; he deserues farr a better Gon^t and this Country is altogether vnworthy of a person of such worth: euery letter will acquaint you of the Death of Cap^t Hamilton: who died before twas well known he was sick: and recommended his funerall to the Charge of 2 Gents belonging to the frigott: his Excellence had his body remoued from a private lodging where he dyed: to his own house hung 2 roomes in black: tooke extraordinary care for his decent interment: which was performed according to his Quality in all respects: I heare feuerall of my freinds are retired, I thank God for my bread and will always thank his Ma^{tie} for sending his Excellence: I wish you and your Lady all happines and am S:

your most obliged Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

M^r Blathwayt;

if M^r Vshers account be not truely stated stopp it and I will send ouer another drawn vp by him as may be by you directed: in that Article which respects y^r Office.

LXI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON ANDROS'S DIFFICULTIES.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston Aug: 5th 1687:

S:

I haue demanded of M^r Dudley an account of the money receiued for his Ma^{ts} vfe vpon forfeitures. he tells me he has advised M^r Secry Pepys of it: and has his accounts allowed for expending it for supply of the Rose ffrigott, I haue againe pressd him for an account hee demurrs vpon it by the Kingffisher you may please to expect his positiuē Answere his Excellence calls to account the Managers of the publick money of the Colledge and finds M^r Stoughton and M^r Dudley haue lately altered the Security of some [of] it and made about 100^l payable to them and their heires you may see what Justice his Ma^{ts} may expect from such Judges :

my wife is the bearer hereof who after a longing desire to be in England has at laft vndertaken her Voyage. I haue very largely wrote M^r Chaplin I intreat the favour of your direction and countenance, in what you think necessary to be done in my affaires : I shall not be wanting in my duty to his Ma^{ts} or his Excellence when commanded : M^r Mason finds obstructions in his Busines after fие Councill dayes which are kept euery Wednesday wee cannot gett 7 of the Councill to meet: so that his Excellence can gett nothing dispatch'd : he is at Great charges and I beleive will neuer

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haue

haue 6 pence giuen him of the Country. Our disbursm^t are greater then the publick revenue will defray: and wee haue no power to raiſe money more then comes in vpon the Act made for Continuing Rates and Taxes which does not make 2000^{lb} a yeare.

his Excellence is repairing the Castle and will make a long line of Artillery vpon Castle Island euen with High Water mark: he intends to fortifye ffort hill . which commands the sea and the town and stands as the Cittadell at Plymouth. wee are in dayly expectation of my Lady Andros : petitions from all places for Grants and confirmation : but I know not vpon what tearmes or what the Gon^t has for the Seal : S^r Will. Stapleton²¹⁹ had fīue pound for euery grant: so much with vs, will make this Gom^t conſiderable 3 or 4 yeares tyme :

I ſend your Lady by my wife a young ffaun I hope it will come ſafe: I would haue gott another but as yet they are too young this was very early;

The ffranch as wee heare haue taken 2 fishing ketches off Port Royall: one is ſince return'd: returnd but the M^r was detaind aboard the french frigott: his Excellence is now fending Cap^t Nicholson to the french Gon^t to know the reaſon of it: of which you may expect an account by the fisher: who is now ready to fayle: but his Excell^t will not order his departure till the Roſe now in the Dock be in a fayling poſture: My lord Howard is at N. York Coll: Dungan is gone to fort Albany to affiſt the Indians ag^t the french

²¹⁹ Sir William Stapleton was a moſt ſucceſſful Governor of the Leeward Islands (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, Vol. X., XI., XII., *paſſim*). The reference is obscure.

french who are (some report) 3000 men and are intended to subdue the Indians who are vnder the Gom^t of N. York : I present my humble seruice to you and your Lady wishing many many happy yeares and am S^r

your humble Seru^t

to M^r Blathwayt.

ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayt
Eq₃
at the Plantation Office

[*Endorsed*] N : Engl^t 5 Aug : 87
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 17 Oct. 87
p[er] M^m Randolph

An Acco^t of forfeitures returnd to M^r Pepys
the Managers for the Colledge called to acco^t
Desires countenance in his affaires. has writ to M^r Chaplin
the Disburfm^t greater than the Revenue.

New fortificaons

Sends a young fawne

the french haue taken 2 fishing Ketches

Cap^t Nicholson going to the Gon^t

King fisher ready to saile

the Rose in the Dock

L^d Howard at N. York

Coll Dungan at Albany

LXII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT COMMENDING HIS LATE CLERK.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston Aug: 6: 1687

S:

The bearer hereof M^r Clarke has liued with me in Bos: from the tyme I vndertooke the Secrys Office, till my parting with it: and had he not been discouraged as well as my selfe to see the busines of my Office managed by others who had no right so to do: wee might haue held it to this tyme: he comes to England and desires me to recommend him to the Plantation Office where if you please to giue him Encouragem^t he will be very diligent and may return to do me better seruice: but he is wholy at your dispose if you think fitt to entrust him in any busines he is a very good Arithmetitian: and wants onely to be vnder a Good Master where he may not want employ^y: he is well able to enforme of all the late transactions and the difference in profitte betwixt the Secry office in my hand and fince; euery man can swim when held vp by the head: I intreat your pardon for this trouble and remain S:

your most humble ser^r

ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt[Addreſſed] To the Hon^{ble}:William Blathwayt Esq^r.

at the Plantation Office

by M^r Clarke . White hall

[Endorſed]

[*Endorsed*] N. England 6 : Aug : 87

From M^r Randolph

p[er] M^r Clerk

Rec^d 21 Oct. 87

[*On loose slip
inside letter*] John Clarke at m^r Joseph Elme's in Goodmans
fields London.

LXIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON PASSING EVENTS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : Aug^d 16 : 87.

S:

yesterday M^r Dudley desired to see my Deputation and letter received from you relating to the Office of Auditor Gen^l: he told me he would for your Satisfaction send you a duplicate of the account he some tyme since sent to M^r Secry Pepys : with his receites of Money due to his Ma^d: vpon forfeitures and his feuerall Disbursements : But in regard he did not find such money comprehended in your Commission, he intended to passe me ouer and immedately to transmitt it to you:

The noise of vast quantityes of money taken vpon the wreck ⁸²⁰ in 22 deg^d North Latitude invites our poeple to sett out small vessells but his Excellence has ordered that good security be entred in to that they duely obserue the ruls and directions in those cases: No shippes yet from England makes

⁸²⁰ This was the wreck so frequently ineffectual the "rules and directions" referred to, which Phips had been proved may be seen from Letter commisionned to investigate. How LXVIII. post.

makes vs feare some mischeife has befallen our Vessells long
sincē expected hence : Coll : Cony^{ssn} has been here for some
tyme he is very troublesome to his Excellence and wee are
willing to gett him shipt off vpon any termes: he has per-
swaded the Master to take him in and his Company paying
his money in London vpon his Arrivall : I know he will
vse all tricks to avoid that payment, by pretending that he
cannot make his defence without his papers and vnder that
notion gett an Order to haue all his goods ashoare : which
pray in favour to the Master please to gett it directed that
he first pay the Master the money due for his passage : which
comes to 25^{lb} Sterling: the wind presents — I remain in
all Duty

your most humble seru^t

to M^r Blathwayt

ED. RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}:
William Blathwayt Esq;
in Whitehall:
by a freind.

[*Endorsed*] 16 Aug 87
From M^r Randolph

LXIV.

^{ssn} Richard Cony had been Governor of Bermuda and had been practically expelled by a rebellion of the inhabitants. (Cf. *notes* on Letter LI., *supra*.) He was reappointed Governor just before the Revolution (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, no. 1923).

LXIV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ENCLOSING ACCOUNTS.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston : Sept : 30th 1687

S:

I was hastily Summon'd by a letter from the Commⁿ of the Navy to dispatch the ship White horse sent to load Mafts at Piscataqua ; where I was obliged to stay so long that the Kingfisher sayld before my return . by which meanes the duplicates of the vouchers to the Seuerall Articles in the generall Account and ready (sent by his Excellencys directions vpon the Kingfisher) were left behind ; which I now present you by this opportunity ; together with such papers as seem necessary to explain the account : which are numbred as followes.

N^o 1 : A Duplicate of the Genⁿ Account for which the accountant craues an allowance :

N^o 2 : a paper prooving perticularly the first Article—
154^{lb} : 3 : 7 : with the vouchers from N^o 1 : to N^o 10 : for the whole , in which paper is one Article of 48 : 8 : 2 : money receiued by fflorence Kain ²²² his Excellences Servant with his perticular account of disbursments for his Ma^{ties} service, allowed in Councill, and his receipt to the Treasurer for that Summ :

N^o 3 : A paper inclosing foure Bundles of vouchers N^o 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : amounting to — 117 : 11 : 1 : which vouch the second and third Articles of 53 : 3 . 9 . and 65 : 18 : 6 : in

²²² *Supra*, Vol. IV. p. 253.

in all 119:2:3: I am forced to join these two Articles in regard some of the vouchers relate both to the Castle and to fort hill: Butt I find 1:10:2: short of the Grosse Summ, which I haue allowed as incident charges of Porteridg and Boat hire from Boston to the Castle at severall tymes, and such like petty expences, for which it could not bee expected the Treasurer should produce vouchers —

N^o 4: His Excellence his two Receites for 552:6:3: and for 100^l which Do vouch the fourth Article in the Generall Account. 652:6:3.

The fift Article is — 51:4:0. allowed for Auditing of accounts not knowing to what other head to place that Summ. and if that be an Errour. pray please to direct by what other method wee may exprefse our respects where most due, being altogether vnacquainted in forming and passing Exchequer Account's, further then what wee haue been instructed by his Excellence, I haue onely to intreat your full and perticular directions in this whole affaire: that I may perfectly vnderstand and discharge my duty there in and always remain S^r

your most humble and most
my humble seruice to y^r Lady: obedient Seru^r

ED RANDOLPH

To M^r Blathwayt my humble service to S^r Robert Sowthwell, his Excellence has taken Cold and is more indisposed then he is willing to acknowledge: I feare his being well

[Addressed] To the Hon^{ble}
 William Blathwayt

[Endorsed]

[*Endorsed*]

N : England 30 Sept 1687
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 28 Nov : 87
With the Accompts for
fix Months Ending the
30 of June 1687
and Vouchers

LXV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE UNION OF THE
COLONIES.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*

S:

Boston : No^{br} 23 : 1687.

the vnspeakeable benefitt this whole Gom^t receiues as the
happe effect of your care and favour for them in obtaining
a Vnion of all New Eng^d vnder one Gen^l Gon^t ought never
to be forgott, especially by those of Connecticutt, who aboue
all things Dreaded to be joind to New York : tho they
were very highly Courted by Coll Dongan who depended
vpon his great interest at Court; he wanted that Colony
for he has so squeezed the poeple of N. York That they are
very hardly able to liue; and as many as can leaue the place
some come heither who are not very Gratefull others are
turnd Planters in Jarsey and very few English left.

I wrote you in my last that his Excellence was not well :
he so continued till my Ladys arrivall : yet vpon the
notice of Connecticutt being added to this : he resolued
to go him selfe and was attended by a Gard of Granadeers
mounted and well ecquippd with all their habilaments : and
nigh

nigh 60 Gents. and Merc'ts well acoutred with 6 members of the Council: he was hon^{bly} receiued and hauing called them together read his Ma^{ie} Commission and the Order of Councill to take them vnder his care: all their Deputyes were very busy in town and were present but he would not giue them leaue to debat or aske questions but sware their Gon^t and Cap^t Allen of the Councill and dissolued their meeting: his presence was very necessary for feuerall Inhabitants of the Townes adjacent vpon N : York were prepared by Coll : Dongan to decoy in their neighbors and would haue been troublesome: his Excellence visited all the townes betwixt Long Isl^d and New York Sowthward . and also Road Island Narragansett and all that part of the Gom^t and now annexed will be of great advantage to the Crown the Gon^t is with all Industry carriing on the fort: and the weather favouring will gett it Ready to receiue the Soldiers: in 3 weekes tyme Cap^t Nicholson is happyly added to the Councill ; where and in the Country he does his Ma^{ie} good seruice: the poeple value themselues vpon the Declaration for liberty of conscience: ³²³ you haue not been pleased yet to lett me know how that article in the Treasurers account which relates to your office of Auditor ought to be expressd; I hope our Gon^t will find some better way to gratifye your favors: here has been feuerall South Sea men: ³²⁴ with plenty of money: they are instructed how to

³²³ The "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience" (so-called) was first published in the *London Gazette*, 4th April, 1687. Its meaning was as much mistaken by New England as by the English Dissenters.

³²⁴ For the South Sea privateers and their lenient treatment in the Colonies, see Letter CXXX. post, and *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, no. 1898.

to govern themselues and liue vndisturbed; Our way of Collecting money vpon the Country Inhabitants does not answear the End, for now Corn is plenty they pay all in oates: so that Boston by reason the treasurer liues there is the Great Grainary; and turnes to little: the Trade is not so quick as formerly. I feare the additionall Impots vpon the Plantation Comodityes affects vs: for our Trade to thosse parts does very much decay: and I know now nothing but hopps is with vs a good Comodity wee haue two Ships now ready to fayle halfe loaden with them wee want his Ma^{tie} order to lay a higher duty vpon wines liquors and Brandee retaile: which will bring in more then a penny land tax foure tymes a yeare. then I beleive this Gom^t will raise 7 or 8000^l yearely, his excellency is an admirable husband for the King and will make the most of this Country in all respects: M^r Mason has been assaying to accomplish his busines at his province: he finds the party who oppose him are Countenanced vnderhand, by Dudley and others of that Gang: they Endeavour to weary him out: not being able to bring them to take leases tho' Wyer has done it lately.

I hope my wife has paid her duty to your Lady. I intended her a faun by these ships but come to a mischance: I haue in a Barrell sent her Acorns Chefnutts and Walnuttts to send to your park: and hope I shall shortly send some deere. the Gon^t has sent feuerall abroad; I haue by great accident mett with a black fox: and am promised a Bitch: I present them by my wife to his Ma^{tie} if you think it proper to be done. Shee is referrd to your directions therein:

I send your lady also vpon the Ship Dolphin of Boston.

John

John ffoy Master : in a Small box Twelue small plants of the Locust Trees I hope will come to good and arriue well : they are an admirable Shade : very pleafant and will grow any where if taken care of at first : S: I owe to you the bread I eat and haue been vnjustly treated here, otherwise I ought to make you more then a verball acknowledgm^t I haue sent to my worthy freind M^r Chaplin a petition ²²⁵ to be presented to his Ma^{tie} which I pray you to favour ; I am vnhappy in my wiues absence and after all my trouble would gladly liue in England in the meane tyme I pray his Ma^{tie} would please to grant me something here to be settled vpon me and my family : my Offices are vncertain and will be little worth . our money for want of goods to make returnes is sent to London : M^r Mason presses very much to raiſe the money : but cannot gett it passe : so that vnlesſe the privateeres had brought in peeces of 8 : wee must haue traded in Boards fish . etc : I was endeavouring to gett a Tract of land . but all is taken vp where I desire it : I am glad to be at quittt : and hauing now done his Ma^{tie} what Service I am Capable to do : would willingly haue leaue to return : provided I might be certain of enjoying the benefitt of my Offices. if you do not make vſe of all the Acorns pray ſend what you can ſpare to S^r Robert Sowthwell . to whom I write by this Conuenience and am S:

your moſt humble Seru^t

Capt Nicholson and Cap^t Trefry ED RANDOLPH
are very well and desire their
humble Service to be preſented,
to you and M^r Povey and all in
the Mall ;

to

²²⁵ This muſt be the petition printed *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 165.

to M^r Blathwayt

[Addressed] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayt
on M^r floy a Barr^d of Craneberryes to your Lady Mark^d WB:
ffor M^r of the Ship Dolphin of Boston

[Endorsed] N. Engl^d 23 Nov: 1687
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 18 Jan^v 87

S^r Edmund Andros has rec^d Conecticut under his Governt:
Cap^t Nicholson of the Councill
Desires to know how the article relating to the Auditor sh^d be
expressd in the Accoⁿ
Sev^d of the S^o Sea men there
The new way of collecting money does not answer the Ende
A higher impost upon Liqⁿ better than a Land Tax
M^r Mason's people will not take leases.
Sends over, acorns, chestnuts, a blk fox, locust plⁿ
Has sent over a Petition for a setlem^t upon his family
Would be glad to return if he might enjoy the benefit of his
offices
Desires some of the Acorns may be sent to S^r R: Southwell

LXVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON LADY ANDROS'S SICKNESS.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston: in N: Eng^dJan⁷ 16: 1687Hon^d S:

This onely acquaints you that my Lady Andros²²⁶ is so dangerously sick that her recouery is questioned by all. and the Gon^r was troubled with a flux before her arrivall and in that condition went to Connecticut has been somewhat Better. but now neither eates drinks or will compose him selfe to rest that wee haue all cause to feare it will bring him into a relapse and wee may question his recouery also. Wee are in an ill posture should he fayle there being none but M^r Mason Cap^t Nicholson and my selfe to stem the tide of the old faction which growes and euery day appeares more and more in the Councill so that wee could gett nothing to moue for his Ma^{tie} without great difficulty and disputes: my humble seruice to M^r Povey pray send the incloſed as directed and you will oblidg S^r

your humble Seru^t

Cap^t Leg arrived here
from London on the 12th
instant.

ED RANDOLPH.

Tthanke M^r Povey for his letter
I pray god you may heare better from vs by the next ship
which

²²⁶ Lady Andros died on 22d January West's letters to Allen of 21st and 26th (*supra*, Vol. II. p. 53 note). She appears to have been much beloved. See January, in the *Andros Tracts*.

which will Sayle from Piscataqua about 6 weekes hence
E. R.

[*Endorsed*] N. England 16 Jan^y 87
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 5 May 88

LXVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT: A COMPLIMENTARY LETTER.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : Jan^y 26 : 87

Hon^d S:

His Excellence yesterday received the Box and letters from your Office by Harris: he with Cap^t Nicholson and all your freinds here wish you and y^r Lady Joy of your young son. and pray to god to send you more, I heartily thanke you for your extraordinary favour and Care of my affaires and wholy in all things submitt and acquiesce in your directions I haue by this oppurtunity been very larg to you I haue onely to ad that I am S:

your humble Seru:
ED. RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}:
M^r Blathwayt
[*Endorsed*] N: Engl^d 26 Jan^y 87
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 27 Mar 88

LXVIII.

LXVIII.

RANDOLPH TO SIR NICHOLAS BUTLER ²²⁷ PROPOSING A
ROMANIST MISSION.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Baskaway.*Boston : March: 29th 1688May it please y^r Hon^r:

I take leaue to continue my Adrefse and humbly represent to y^r Hon^r that on the 18th of feb^r last vpon notice of a vessell from the Spanish wreck, w^{ch} had taken vp money and plate, his Excellence our Gon^r called a Councill at 6 a Clock that night, and communicated his Ma^{ies} Letter of the 22 of Oct^r last . requiring one Moiety of all money etc : taken vp at the wreck . to be receiued for his Ma^{ies} vse : t'was agreed that I should vndertake that Seruice, and accordingly I travell'd all night in extream frosty weather and came vndiscovered by bye wayes to a Town call'd Bristol (70 miles distant from Boston) I soon discouered the vessell lay out of Command in an open Road and that shee had belonging to her aboue 40 men well Armd. howeuer I procured a small boat, went aboard and demanded his Ma^{ies} Moiety : They cryd out (one and All) wee will loose our liues rather then part wth one penny, more then his Ma^{ies} tenths, as was agreed vpon with his Excellence before wee vndertooke the voyage

I

²²⁷ Sir Nicholas Butler was a recent convert to Romanism. "Sir Nicholas Butler one of the Commissioners of the Customs hath declared himself a Papist" (Luttrell's *Diary*, Vol. I. p. 400. 11th April, 1687). He first appears as a

Lord of Trade, together with Lord Petre, another Romanist, on 27th January, 1688. (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, no. 1607.)

I then feized the vessell for his Ma^{ts} vnrig'd her and sent her sayles ashore and left a good Gard aboard to prevent embezzlem^t the M^r and Company finding themselues thus disappointed, deliuereed to my possession ten thousand two hundred Seaventy foure Ounces of Money and Plate,²²⁸ neuer out of my sight till safe in Boston, my life was often in danger thro' the mutinous Saylers . But far more by a fuddaine fitt of Sicknes which feized vpon me in my Journey. his Ma^{ts} Moiety is now ready when Commanded to be sent to England : I haue humbly represented this to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Treasury : praying their Lords^{ps} directions to bring it with me to England and receiue his Ma^{ts} Royall Bounty for that difficult Seruice, or otherwife be ordred to make returnes of it by bills of Exchange to London, vpon the vsuall rates with allowance for my trouble . in which matter I pray for and humbly depend vpon y^r Hon^r affiance and favour.

I haue long expected an end of the difference betwixt Cap^t Georg and myselfe arising about the 3^d part of the condemnd Scotch vessell (233^{lb} od money) to which I haue an vndoubted Right: y^r Hon^r together wth the Comm^r of the customs vpon my humble petition were pleased to referr that matter to his Excellence our Gon^r (if Cap^t Georg would assent) but he being posses^d of the money by the illegall proceedings of the Judge of the Admiralty : I haue no way (at this distance) then to renew my petition to their Hon^r which with vouchers I humbly transmitt, praying them to assent

²²⁸ For the immense amount of treasure found in the wreck, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, nos. 1611, 1899, 1903.

assert That power they haue by their deputation invested me with for his Ma^{ties} Service with the reward the Acts of trade haue made due to the Offices etc. my duty to his Ma^{ties} putt^s a Barr vpon their doing me Justice : both in that and other cases: If necessary I humbly pray I may haue liberty to go to Eng^d to solicite in this matter and make appeare to y^r Hon^r my Right . and acquitt my selfe from the Imputation of a Querulous person

I likewise humbly inform y^r Hon^r That about the yeare 1644: a Gen^l Collection was made thro England and Great Summs of money gathered for evangelizing the Indians in New Eng^d²²⁹ this Stock was managed at home by a Gon^r and company . who yearly sent over 800^{lb} or 1000^{lb} to some persons here with power to dispose of it to that end onely: I well know feuerall who haue managed it and thriued well ; but the Natiues are not provided for as the Gon^r and company did design : the money is distributed amongst themselues and I beleive not 30^{lb} yearly disposed to the Indians. I haue lately known (such whom they call) ministers and school masters who can speak broken Indian, come to me and complaine they wanted cloathes and a book. The natives are mightily inclined to the Romish Religion this the ffrench our neighbors well know, and take care they shall not want Preifts . for at Kebeck vpon the River of Canada they haue a Bishop and feuerall Covents and their Preifts are very Laborious in converting the Indians: they are with them

²²⁹ The Evangelization Fund is continually the subject of animadversion by Randolph. Cf. *supra*, Vol. I, p. 225, and the letters there referred to. Rawfon's name is not here mentioned, though elsewhere Randolph had accused him of retaining £200 of this money. (*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Transactions, Vol. VII. p. 293.)

them at Port Royall and at Panopscott: and visite and affociate themselues with the Indians to the Eastward in this Gom: by this meanes the ffrench dayly gaine vpon them : and haue engrofd all the Beaver trade one cheife-cause of the trade with vs: I heare his Ma^{ie} intends to send ouer some preifts to New York: I humbly propose it more necessary to haue fome recommended to that Seruice in this Gom: in regard the greatest part of Our Indians are bordring vpon the french to the Eastward . and by that meanes they will be kept at home and proue seruiceable to the Crown in peace by their trade . in tyme of warr : by their affistance; the ffrench in their warr vpon the Mo-hauk Indians, carry out great numbers of Indian Converts who do more wrong then the french : I find these managers here haue putt this publick money fent heither yearly out to vfe: as by a Duplicate of their account (which I haue by me doth appeare) amounting to 2230^{lb} this affaire is carried with great privacy : and I feare much of this Stock has been employed to oppose his Late Ma^{ie} prosecuting their charter: I likewife incloſe to y^r Hon^r a duplicate containing fome clauſes in the Patent for Evangelizing Indians by which the L^d Chancellor etc : has power to examine their accounts. During the tyme my Lord North was Lord Keeper, I represented to his Lords^r the arbitrary proceedings of these Managers and solicited his Lords^r Commiffion to be iffued out to audite and examine as well the Generall accounts of the Company at home . as also here: It was looked vpon very necessary to be done : but his Lords^r was of opinion not at that tyme proper but rather to attend the vacating their Charter : which being long fince done : and now all the Colonyes and Provinces
in

in N: Eng^d vnder his Ma^{tie}s immediate Gon^r: I most earnestly but in great humility propose that a matter of so great import to the Crown and to the Security and well settlement of this vast dominion and well ordring the willing Natives be effectually vndertaken to which end I further offer: that a Commission be directed to Robert Mason Cap^t ffrancis Nicholson Esq₃, men of known Loyalty to his Ma^{tie} and to M^r Hinks and Richard Smith and my selfe all members of the Councill with power to examine the accounts to send for perfons bookes and administer Oathes to all concernd in this fund, and to proceed against such who (legally summond) refuse to obey: and to take care to secure the ready money bills bonds Mortgages etc: and to report to his Excellence the Gon^r from whom his Ma^{tie} will haue a speedy and perfect account of the whole proceeding:

I lastly craue y^r Hon^r patience and leaue to add. That one Harvard at the beginning of the Settlem^t of this Country gaue about 300^{lb} towards erecting a Colledge: ⁸³⁰ that some tyme after the Gen^r Court raised money vpon all the Inhabitants and built a Colledge at Cambridge (7 miles distant from Boston pleasantly seated vpon a River and a faire brick Building) and by Guifts from feuerall perfons well endowed with money and lands: till about the yeare 1686: (during my absence to serue a Quo Warr^{to} ag^t the Colony of Connecticut)

⁸³⁰ As to the regulation of the College in Randolph's absence, see *supra*, Vol. I. p. 297. Intelligence of Mather's election was transmitted to the Privy Council (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1686, no. 784, given *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 95), but the

document does not imply the extensive changes here specified. No. 888 of the same year substantiates Randolph's statement that a young Dudley was appointed scholar at (at least) five pounds for the year (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 96).

necticott) M^r Dudley Presid^t M^r Stoughton Dep^y presid^t with 5 of the Members of the Councill take vpon them the Regulation of the Colledge (but no Order or direction from his Ma^{ie} for so doing) and in stead of a President and ffellowes make a Rector and Tutors : as by the Inclosed pretended order of Presid^t and Councill doth appeare : so that now Increase Mather : to that day Presid^t of the Colledge was continued but by the name and office of Rector : and they proceed further : Calling vpon such persons who had any of the Colledg money in their hands to bring it in and take new Security: wherevpon about 1200^l which was putt out in the Colledges name : is now altered and putt out in the names of Dudley Stoughton and Mather : and made payable to them and their heires: besides y^r Hon^r will please to obserue added to that order of the Presid^t and Councill : another order tack'd on of the 1 of Oct : ffollowing . made by dudley and Mather onely : by which they order yearly exhibitions to the young Schollers : as to Dudley his son : and the others are his relations:

Now may it please y^r Hon^r seing That these persons aboue named with some others added to them haue been for many yeares the sole Managers of the Stock for Evangelizing Indians and it now appearing also how they haue possessd themselues of the money of the Colledge converting it to their private benefitt : I hope y^r Hon^r will see a neceffity that his Ma^{ie} please to direct a Commission to examine and report as well vpon the proceedings of the managers of the Indian Stock, as of the Colledge and that some prudent Gent . be sent to be presid^t of that Colledge and some preists also to vndertake the Converting of the Natiues for which there is

a

a present maintainance ready vpon the place : besides vpon my coming to Eng^d I shall discouer to y^r Hon^r lands enough to maintain a small convent without any charge to the Crown : M^r Gibbon ^{ss1} a Benidictine at S^t James covent is my brother and was willing to come Over and settle here : but I could not then giue him that encouragement I haue now very lately discouraged : I haue no end in this, but to serue his Ma^{re} and promote the peace and welfare of this dominion : whilst others haue for their private interest invaded the publick Stock which well employed will greatly Conduce to effect it:

there is at present some private design carriing on by that party and by M^r Mather : who is now shipping him selfe for England : either to gett their accounts shuffled vp and paſſd by the Gon^r and Company for Evangelizing Indians or to pray his Ma^{re} to confirm their proceedings at the Colledge : all is not well M^r Mather and they haue with others of their party private Caballs : and are (as wee Conjecture) returning ſome of their Stock to London, for now at this tyme, besides two good ſhips which haue been 4 months plying for a load- ing the Pink Ann of Boston 70 Tonns William Wheeler Maſter is newly ſett vp but Loaden vpon M^r Stoughtons account : and ready to ſayle conſignd to Maj^r Thomfons order in London One of the Company of the Evangelizing Indians : and a great Manager at home, his ſon in law M^r Afhhirst being now (or lately) Treasurer of that Company : your Hon^r readines at all tymes to receiue my papers
and

^{ss1} Gibbon may be any of the numerous brothers of the firſt Mrs. Randolph, as given in Berry's *Kent Genealogies*.

and y^r indefatigable zeal to promote the Interest of the Crown obliges me to make y^r Hon^r this long but most faithfull representation of the State of the Indian and Colledge stock: and earnestly pray it may be receiued with all privacy as from my selfe: and that some speedy resolues may be made in order to discouer and secure the same: before it be other-wise directed: all which is humbly submitted to y^r Hon^r most serious consideration

by y^r Hon^r
most obedient and most
humble seru^t
ED RANDOLPH

29 Mar 88
To the R : Hon^{ble}:
S: Nicholas Butler

LXIX.

LXIX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT WITH A PRESENT OF
PLANE-TREES.²²²*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston: March the 29th 1688

S:

I send to you by this opportunity a small Box of Seedes of the Plane Tree : which beares a fine flower and giues a pleasant Shade in the Summer: hauing leaues bigger then any vine : they will grow in your Parke. I neuer heard of them in England nor known here till of Late : if you please to oblige me in giuing some to M^r Parry to trye in his ground I will send you a larger quantity when I heare they take in your Grounds :

I write to you by Cap^t Ware who brings ouer my Lady Andros neec Craven : by whom you may expect an account of what has passd with vs. my seruice to M^r Povey and humble thankes to you for all favors : I am

S:

Your most obliged Seru^t
ED. RANDOLPH

[Addressed]

²²² It is probable that Randolph was one of the first if not the first to introduce the American plane into England. Cf. Hehn's *Wanderings of Plants and Animals* (translated by Stallybras), p. 222: "It is generally believed that the American maple (*Platanus Occidentalis*), which is now

largely used in Central Europe for forming avenues, was brought from a still greater distance than the plane-tree of the ancients, and equally for the sake of its shade alone. Some consider it a mere variety of the oriental plane-tree, but the first opinion is by far the most probable."

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] 29 March 1688
From M^r Randolph
with Trees

LXX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON HIS OWN AND MASON'S
TROUBLES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : April 2 : 1688

S^r:

In my letter to you by Cap^t Tanner I acquainted you that I had gaind to his Ma^{tie} the Moiety of Ten thousand two Hundred Seaventy foare Ounces of Money . and plate out of a vessell which came to N^t: Bristoll . from the Spanish wreck : the M^r and company were by bond obliged to pay his Ma^{tie} but the Tenth^s ^{***} I haue mett with a great deal of Trouble, and hazarded my life to gett it, I haue by my petition to the Lords of the Treasury sett forth the matter and pray his Ma^{tie} to Reward for that Seruice.

Wee haue passd some Acts in Councill the Act for an additionall duty vpon wines and liquors imported and the Excise doubled vpon Retailers of all Drinke^s : passd with a great deal of Difficulty : so that now our revenue will with the

^{***} It appears, however, from the *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, nos. 1606 and 1611, that the King's moiety was exacted also at Barbadoes, the tenth being included therein.

the Addition of Connecticutt bring in 5000^{lb} a yeare if our Lumber bring in a good store of Rum : but as yet very little in regard all the West Indies haue had an exceeding drowth : wee are not well in Councill the late addition of the members rather augments the Number then Our party : M^r Smith is well but at so great a distance that seldome he comes to town : the Gon^r has been at great charges about ye fort in Boston Castle : drye dock in Charles town and the expensive Journey to take in the Colony of Connecticutt : which was purfuant to his Ma^{ties} commands but I know not well how the Lords will approue it : the Gon^r Ordred all as he pleased : I think the Treasurer will gett it ready to be sent by this shipp : he is vneasye with me and wth the Treasurer ; designing that place for one of his favourites M^r Vther is a good man and carefull in his busines : I shall vpon his making vp the accounts of the Country Rates present you with a Scheme of the perticuler assesments : the poeple are very backward hardly owning the Gom^r they are in a great expectation, that his Ma^{ties} will direct vs to make an Act to confirm to them all their Lands granted by their Generall Courts . and euen a Justice of the Peace was so stout, as to giue Costs ag^t a Tenant for a Trespas done vpon his own Land for which he produced A patent for his Land vnder the Seal of the Gom^r there is a stop vpon granting lands : none come for any patents . the poeple being made to beleive that his Ma^{ties} knowes not of the Gon^r passing patents : and they may be calld in as well as their Charter.

Several Grants are already passd : but vpon very inconsidera^{ble} Rents : heitherto I haue been kept a stranger to all at the Secrys Office : I am told They pay a good fine : or some

some private reward to M^r West before a Warr^t is granted to the Surveyor Gen^l to lay out the Land : I haue alwayes paid my duty to the Gon^r but he will not acquaint me of any thing till Its known in Councill and thatts no place to discourse with him : In the Province of Pemmaq^d they gaue 3^t 6^d yearely for a hundred acres : but I beleive about 2000 acres of Land within 3 miles of Boston belonging to Cap^t Paige for 2^t 6^d : the whole per an^t: which will not advance the Revenue much by Quit rents : and the reason is given to oblige the Inhabitants to hold their Lands of the Crown :

A great deal of tyme has been spent in setling ffees for all officers by a Committee: I proposed a fee to [be] setled vpon the Surveyor and Auditor of his Ma^{ies} Revenue. I find them backward and the Rather in regard wee haue not heard what Summ you thought fitt to accept of I haue moued 1^t in the pound but if you think it too much it may be lesned, M^r Graham one of the Councill at N^t York : acquaints me that they haue setled 100^l per an. at N. York vpon the Auditor : Gen^l:

I send you copyes of two Bonds Entred into by M^r of Shippes loading the ennumerated Comodityes from this port to Eng^d Our trade dayly decayes : you will find by the inclosed paper lately come to my hand that there is some part of the Stock for Evangelizing Indians yet in this Country. It's a meer cheat as now managed, twere better wee had some preists here who would fall heartily vpon the worke of Conversions with the Natiues and will bring them to vs now dayly drawn away by the french preists : and by that meanes wee loose our Beaver trade :

I am sorry to acquaint you my Cousin Mafons Circumstances

stances : you may remember he had money of M^r Allen Merc^t in Crosby Square and did write him he might haue his money paid here vpon his bill : Allen has sent a Master from England to pay for a ship has drawn a bill of 400^l vpon my Cousin : and furnished his Master besides with a creditt of as much more : which the M^r has expended but can proceed no further for want of M^r Mafons money : so that the ship is halfe Rigged and lyes vpon Charges : and my Cousin not like to helpe him to 20^l

This disappointment arises from the Judges giuing halfe a yeares tyme to his adversaryes at the Superior Court held at Portmouth : for another halfe yeare when as he had seuall ejectments to trye vpon a verdict for him they would all haue complyed : Mr West has been too busye in his discourse in lesning M^r Mafons title and has said if M^r Mason trye title with any about Ipswich 20 mils with in M^r Mafons Southern Bounds : that he would defend the tenant for the King : here is Richard Maire ^{**} after his many voyages and orders of King and Councill in his behalfe is still putt off the Judges are partyes and will giue no Judgm^t for the King or those who claime vnder him : the Gon^t by this ship sends home his Ladyes neece Craven : and remoues his very small family to fort hill wee are big with expectation to heare what has passd vpon the many complaints from the Seuerall Agents from the Churches and other discontented poeple here : and now M^r Mather is stealing away to crye out ag^t the Governm^t and my selfe : for endeavouring to vindicate my reputation from his Slandrous libell : I had as much In-
justice

^{**} By Richard Maire Randolph must mean himself.

justice in the Court at Boston as M^r Mason had at Piscataqua : I will continue to serue his Ma^{ts} in all my Stations to the Vtmost. I hoped to gett money here, but M^r West has perwaded the Gon^r to make him navall officer : and thereby to settle the ffees granted the Coll^r of his Ma^{tes} Customs vpon the Navall Officer : altho confirmd in Councill in may last : as twill appeare in the Minutes if not neglected to be putt in : I know not how my wife proceedes in her matters : I pray the Continuance of your favour to her : I now send a second petition to the Comm^r of the Customs : about the summ of 233¹⁰ given from me to Cap^r George by the contrivance of Cap^r Georg Dudley and Wharton : the Comm^r haue wrote to the Gon^r in a letter of mine and referrd the determination [of] the matter to him but he will not meddle with the matter : thus haue I been and am exposed to losse and am accounted troublesome in trying to recouer my iust Right. I hope if it be thought necessary for me to come to England to attend my private bufines . I may obtaine leaue from you as well as from the L^d of the Treasury : without losse to my Offices : I present my humble service to you and y^r Lady and remain S^r

your most humble Ser^r
ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] From M^r Randolph
Rec^d the 21 May

LXXI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE EXPECTED WAR.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston : April 5th 1688

S:

This afternoon at Councill was read a letter sent from N : York to our Gon: by Coll Dongan : with a duplicate of the Kings letter directing him to defend the Natives and to pursue all who disturb their peace he writes his Messenger was not returnd from Kebeck : that he expects 400 ffoot one Company of Redcoats and 100 horse—and money to mainaine them but in case he had no need of the men that wee should send money to pay the Charge he has been already att wee agreed this afternoon that orders issue out to the feuerall feild officers that their men be in a readines ag: the last of this month : but with all to know of Coll Dongan what supplyes he expected from his Neighbrs to the Southward : Supposing if Virginia Maryland etc : are solicited for such a number of men that he will draw more together then the occasion will require : wee are vnwilling to part with any money vnlesse our men go . and at a moderate Computation : twill cost this Country about 10000^l to furnish out so many men for 10 months tyme : twould with lesse charge to vs and more security to the Country and I am sure farr better succeſſe if the ffrench are for open warr vpon vs : to attack them by sea. wee can with 500 men driue them out of Kebeck : much sooner and putt an end to all grounds of future contests betwixt vs and the french to fall vpon them and

and drieve them out of this part of the world. wee are all ready for that Service : and want onely his Ma^{des} directions : Our trade is bad and wee want new work : I wish you all happines and remain S:

your most obedient Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}

M^r Blathwayt:
at Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] 5 Aprill 1688
From M^r Randolph.

LXXII.

RANDOLPH'S NEW PATENT AS SECRETARY OF NEW ENGLAND.²²⁰

Colonial Entry Book, Vol. LXI. p. 408.

Mr. Randolphs
grant of the
Secretarys office
&c
25th April 1688 James the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting; Know Yee, that Wee for divers good Causes and Considerations Us thereunto moving, Have Created, Erected and Established, and by these presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors do Erect, Create and Establish an office which for ever shall be, and be called the Office of Secretary & Sole Register of Our Territory and Dominion of

²²⁰ This is the document referred to in Povey's letter (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 221), where the enlarged scope of the new secretaryship is fully explained. Randolph seems to have received no benefit from it, West taking all the profits (*post*, Letter LXXVIII.).

of New England in America, And Wee do also for us Our Heires and Successors hereby Ordain and Declare, that the Person who shall from time to time be appointed to Execute the said Office shall have and enjoy all Priviledges, Fees, Prehemenencies, Rights, Profits and Advantages which any other Secretary or Register of or within any of Our Plantations or Colonies in America, hath enjoyed, or doth or ought to enjoy in respect of such his Office ; And further Know yee that Wee Reposing Special Trust and Confidence in the Fidelity prudence and Circumspection of Our Trusty and Welbeloved Edward Randolph Esq^r, of Our especiall grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant unto the said Edward Randolph the said office or Place of Secretary and Sole Register of Our Territory and Dominion of New England in America aforesaid, And him the said Edward Randolph Secretary and Sole Register of Our said Territory and Dominion of New England Wee do name, make, Create and Ordain by these presents To have, hold, Execute and enjoy the said Office and Place of Secretary and Sole Register of New England aforesaid unto the said Edward Randolph by himself or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies during Our Pleasure. And further wee have given and granted, And by these presents do give and grant unto the said Edward Randolph all and singular such and the like Fees, Rights Powers, Preheminencies, perquisits, Profits and Advantages for and in respect of the Execution of the said Office or Place, as any other of Our Secretaries or Registers of, within, or belonging to any of Our Plantations or Colonies or other Places whatsoever in America aforesaid now do, or
doth

doth or at any time or times heretofore have or hath of Right taken, received or enjoyed for ther exercise of his or their said respective Offices or Places, To have, receive, perceive, and enjoy the Same unto the said Edward Randolph by himself or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies, during Our pleasure. In Witness Whereof Wee have Caused these Our Letters to be made Patents Witnes Our Self at Westminster the 25th day of Aprill in the Fourth year of Our Raign

By writ of Privy Seal,

PIGOTT.

LXXXIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT CONCERNING WEST AND NICHOLSON.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston : July : 28th 1688

S:

I haue pass'd as you see in the two accounts sent home an Article for the Auditors fees: I spoake that there might be an Order in Councill made to ascertaine it to you. but M^r West sayd It cannot be done where there is no Assembly they onely hauing a power to dispose of their own money: and I could not then bring him to it I haue been very sharply handled with the Gravell I am now going to N: York where Cap^t Nicholson also goes and is to Continue vpon the place. Cap^t Trefry being Cheife in Command till the Gon^r return. Some here are very vnwilling to part with

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Cap^t

Cap^t Nicholson in regard he awes the prevailing interest of M^r West and M^r Graham : . I giue you my humble thanks for all your favors and will by some meanes gett y^r Office acknowledged and the ffees setled as in other plantations : I humbly take leaue and am S^r

your most obliged and most
obedient Ser^t

ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt .

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}:
M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] N : England
28 July 88

From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 18 Sept : 88

The Audit^r fee not be be setled by ord^r with^t an assembly
Is gone to N : York
Cap^t Trefry left in Comand.

LXXIV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT FROM PHILADELPHIA.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Phyladelphia in Pennsylvania : Aug^t 19th 88.

S^r:

I take the opportunity of a ship from hence to London to tell you that his Ma^{ties} Commission has been published at N. York . and in the East and West Jarseyes : and being so nigh this place his Excellence has giuen us leaue to see this place :

place : wee are returning to N. Yorke to fettle that place, very much vnhinged by Coll Dongans remisnes : the walls of the City and Gates ruind : the fort much out of repaire : the Inhabitants oppressed by heavy taxes and Coll Dongan highly dissatisfiied at the Suddaine Chang . as he calls it. he is making vp the accounts of the Expences of the late Indian Warr : not so well managed to the Kings advantage : and the cessation the same : for the french haue the forts left in their posseſſion : and the Indians troubled that they were not permitted to prosecute the warr which would by this tyme haue wholy ruined all the french Settlements vpon Canada : Coll Dongan has laid out his estate in purchasig land and houses and expeſted that his Maſe would Continue him in that Gom: he fayes he will pray his Maſe to giue him leaue to return and spend his dayes at his house on Long Island : nothing has been wanting on S^r Edmonds part to show him a prudent Gon: and a civill Gent to the Coll : who has in no ſort taken further notice of it then to raile at his Excell. in all Company : I haue ſeen y^r Deputy M^r Courtland who is a very Civill man : he ſent you his accounts by the laſt ſhip from N. Yorke : (that revenue was nigh 5000^l a yeare : they had made a Tax of 2555^l 6^s in July : to pay their Souldiers 11 months behind but haue ſuspended the raifing of it till his Excellencys arrivall) the Commissaryes and Capt: bring in moſt extravagant accounts of their expences vpon the ſouldiers this warr : allowed by Coll : Dongan . but his Excellence as yet has taken no notice of it he has commanded me to make his excuse for not writing being full of busines to take care for his larg retinue who are at all places moſt plentifullly provided for: this expedition will coſt the Gon: a great

great deal of money : I giue you my hearty thanks for all
your care and countenance in my affaires and am S:

your most obedient Seru:
ED RANDOLPH

To M^r Blathwayt

[*Addressed*]

To the Hon^{ble}
M^r Blathwayt at the
Plantation Office
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*]

N. England 19 Aug: 88
From M^r Randolph from Pensilvania
Rec^d 25 Oct: 88
A tax raised in July but suspended the raising it
till his Ex^r Arrivall.

LXXV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT FROM NEW YORK: REJOICING
ON THE BIRTH OF A PRINCE.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

New Yorke Oct: 2: 88

S:

I haue wrote you from Philadelphia from this place and
from albany which letters are I hope all receiued: wee are
now returnd from thence in order to go for Boston: wheither
his Exce^{ll} is obliged to make all the dispatch possible in
regard by some misvnderstanding at Casco bay betwixt the
Christians and the Indians things are grown to that height
that seuerall are killd and taken prisoners on both fides,
they

they haue kild a Justice of Peace whom at first they tooke prisoner because one Cap^t Blackman ²⁶⁶ seized vpon 5 Indian men and women and children to the number of 17 in all and sent them bound to Boston by sea whom Cap^t Nicholson ordred forthwith to be sent to their habitations: the Indians got abroad and tooke this Justice and others about ffalmouth: and one Cap^t and 9 or 10 men at Kennebeck River and kept them prisoners wee know not, what is the occasion of this distraction and some of the Councill at Boston vpon notice hereof levy about 40 men send them by sea to be commanded by Coll Ting they are by the Indians some kild others wounded and so shatred that at Boston they are Raifing more men to send out ag^t the Indians altho' no directions from his Excellence to raise one man out of the County where the mischeife first Broake out: this busines is very surprizing and I feare will run vs into a Warr with those Indians with whom his Excellence discoursd last may and found them all very dutyfull and submissiue. all the Indians thereabouts are not aboue 70 fighting men. but what support or numbers they may be supplyed with all from the french eastward wee at this distance cannot learn

all things with the 5 nations as I told you in my letter from Albany are very well: they Complaine that they haue been obstructed in their hunting by the french who haue Castles vpon all their great Rivers: his Excellence has gott a little french Girle ²⁶⁷ delivered vp to him by their Speaker with great formality in open Court and all they who yet remain

with

²⁶⁶ See *post*, Letter LXXXI.

²⁶⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1688*, no. 1896.

with these Indians will be delivered vp to his Excellencyes order : in whom the nations haue great confidence I am well assured that if his Excellence had been in this Gom^t vpon the first eruption of the french . they would haue accepted peace vpon any termes, but by a voluntary truce for 8 or 10 weekes granted them by Coll Dongan : for obseruing whereof he putt the King to great charg to keep vp aboue 200 Indians at Albany and I know not how many more at Scanedite : a town 20 miles distance from thence . who were highly concernd to haue their hands tyed vp and be confined when they had an irreparable opportunity to cutt off all succors and releife from the french castles : th' men being all ready to starue for want of provisions : I shall send you ouer a more ample account of these affaires when wee gett to Boston: his Excellence left the poeple of the Jarfeyes very well satissified and has made no alteration but has to a man as I remember continued all that were in the former Gom^t in these places : to their high content : ffrom the first tyme of his Excellencyes entring vpon this southern part of the Gom^t Coll Dongan has carried him selfe very disobligingly : the true ground arises from his being disappointed of his great expectation of being Gon^t of New Eng^d as now called: I haue acquainted you of his account of 6400[£] etc. due to him for the Expences of his Army at Albany and nothing now will ferue the turn vnlesse his Excell. to oblige him will appoint Auditors for this account : and immedately order the paym^t of that Summ : you will see by the Orders of Councill and his answere in writing now sent you what ground he has to complaine as hee dayly does of injustice : etc : I cannot omitt to acquaint you

you that vpon the newes sent vs from Boston by Cap^t Nicholson of the Birth of the Prince of Wales . (it being the 27 of Aug^t last) about 6 in the Euening his Excellence immediately went to the fort sent for Coll Dongan all the Councill the Mayer and Aldermen and invited all that would come to drinke the princes health which vpon his excellencys beginning it all the Great Gunns in the fort were fired volleys of Small Shott from his Ma^{ties} two Companyes answearing them : and then all the shippes in the harbour fired off their Gunns : the poeple euery where drinking and crying out God saue the Prince of Wales. during this entertainm^t in the fort a very larg Bonfire was made before the fort Gate where his Excellence and all the Councill dranke the princes health and instead of Conduits were feuerall pipes of wine the heads knockd out which plentifully supplyed the whole Company runing ffrom one pipe to another Burning their hatts and cloathes with ffull potts and peales of Huzzaes all night long some by choise others by necessity keeping their ground till morning

the next day a publick day of thanks Giving was ordred to be kept . thro the whole Gom^t (as by the proclamation sent you by Cap^t Nicholson from Boston) at New York the next Sunday : and a fortnight after in the remotest parts. in our passage to Albany about halfe way on Hudsons River his Excellence went a shoare and all that were able made 3 great fires and Carried plenty of wine and provisions of all sorts which were dressd on the Land and most part of that night was spent in drinking the princes health and firing Gunns and that high Land Called the Princes Point in honour of his Royall highnes.

nes. but tho his Excellence could not be present at New York . yett he had taken care for to haue that day kept there with Great solemnity ffor all the Great Guns were fired in the fort plenty of wine and provisions for all sorts and 25th starl. to be distributed amongst the poore : with a very great Bonfire at night . and That no place or occasion might faile to expresse our Joy : vpon the Sunday fortnight his Excellence being at Albany after Church . went to the ffort with all the Councill and the cheife Men with the Mayer and Alderman of that Citty and beginning the princes health the Great Guns were fired off : 3 vollyes from the Souldiers in the fort which were answeared from the fort by the waterside and followed by the vessells in the River : then all the Company were treated at a very plentifull Dinner and that the Jolly Dutchmen might not want a supper a whole ox was roafted and two very larg Bonfires made to entertain the numerous guesse never before so feasted by whole sale . and the easier to wash down their roast beefe barrells of very stout beere stood every wheare ready broachd at the head for men women and children to drinke or drown att as they pleased : from thence wee followed his Excellence to his house where he had ordred a great supper to be made ready and nothing but God blesse the prince and drinking his health and loud acclamations were heard that night : I haue lately heard from our freinds at Boston : I am told that the C. of England the ffranch church and the Anabaptists published his Excellencyes proclamation in their Churches . and kept the day with all demonstrations of Joy but the Loyall Congregationall men would in none of their 3 meting houses either read the proclamation or take any notice of that

that day : according to their wonted principle of obeying and honouring the King by contemning his authority :

I tooke care to dispatch to you the accounts then ready. at my return to Boston I will hasten the remainder and nothing but a seconde Indian Warr which I feare is begun shall obstruct. the losse of my Cousin Mason has been a great trouble to vs all : but will be gratefull and the return of some of their prayers about Piscataqua : I hope his son will be advised and wee may faue something for his poore Children for whom he had taken so great care and paines : my humble seruice to your lady I wish you all happines and remaine S: your most obliged Serv:

ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble} M^r Blathwayt
at the Plantation Office
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] 2 Octob . 1688
From M^r Randolph

LXXVI.

RANDOLPH TO POVEY ON SALARIES.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

New York : Oct. 3 : 88

S: to M^r Povey :

His Excellence putting vp his papers shewed me the extract of Coll Dongans Letter to M^r Blathwayt of the 21 of february 1687 : wherein he sayes I know what is your due

due there is some money will come in next Aprill to be sent ouer to a clerke of the Councill and a Soliciter and it is to bee a hundred pound a peece : per Annum. if Connecticutt be joined to this Gom^t: I question not but a hundred per Annum more might bee added to the Clerke of the Councill. I haue enquired into this matter of M^r Courtlandt who remembers that aboue a yeare ago Coll Dongan did in Generall termes speake of 100^l to some at Court but at the same tyme as he well remembers he said it should bee ordred in England and not from hence : which he then did not well vnderstand what was meant and has at no tyme since heard any more of it:

S^r: you wrote me somewhat of it formerly which I did then communicate to his Excellence who at that tyme professd that the alteration of the Gom^t: here should be no prejudice to M^r Blathwayt or you : wee want onely the forme and stile of that Article in the Virginニア account whence I beleive Coll Dongan was encouraged to write to your Office. I know it will be allowed with advantage: that of the addition of Connecticutt was to animate you in procuring that for N. Yorke and accordingly you were to expect from hence.

ED RANDOLPH

[*Endorsed*] N. England 3 Oct. 1688
 From M^r Randolph
 Rec^d 22 Dec. 88
 Nothing of the clerk of the
 Councill or Sollicit^r for
 N. York

LXXVII.

LXXVII.

RANDOLPH TO POVEY ON LIVINGSTON'S CLAIMS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

New Yorke Oct: 3: 88.

S:

I am desired by M^r Robert Leviston ^{as} Merc^t of Albany to acquaint you that of that Larg account of 6400^{lb} ect: offred by Coll Dongan to the Gon^t and Councill there is due to him by feuerall Articles which I haue pervsed and seen signd by Coll Dongan : amounting to the Summ of 2484^{lb} he has been promised paym^t of the whole but has receiued not aboue 155^{lb} hauig come to a ballance but lately of the whole account (the want thereof is greatly to his prejudice:

Its very vncertain how or where this money may bee ordred to be paid : I am well assured tis a just debt and his respects to Coll Dongan and the Kings Seruice has made him thus far lanch out his Estate: he sends authentick Copyes of all his accounts to his Correspond^t M^r Jacob Harwood whom I recommend to be directed by you as occasion may require : if in England then that M^r Harwood may haue tymely notice of it and so I desire you to giue me notice how Coll Dongan succedeis in this busines : that

^{as} On Robert Livingston, see *supra*, Vol. IV. pp. 260-262. A full account of his exertions is given in Randolph's letters after his return to America (*post*, Letters of 1692-3). Livingston ultimately went to England and suc-

ceeded in recovering confiderable sums (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1695, nos. 2084-5, and *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III. and IV., *passim*).

that M^r Leviston may bee either with you or in this Country
secured of his just Due he will be very gratefull for your
favour herein and thereby you will oblige S:

your humble Seru:

ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^d

John Povey Esq_r.
at the Plantation Office
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] N. England 3 October 1688

From M^r Randolph from N. York

Rec^d 31 Dec : 88

Concern^x M^r Leviston is Debt

LXXVIII.

RANDOLPH TO POVEY ON THE SECRETARYSHIP.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

ffrom aboard the floop Mary
at an anchor in ffairefeild
harbour : Oct : 7th 1688.

Sr

Wee are come heither in our return home to Boston. his
Excellence perving M^r Blathwayts and your late letters
acquainted me that you wanted Letters of M^r Mathers. I
well remember that I sent you feuerall Copyes of them and
beleiue they are mislaid I shall at my return home by the
next send them to you and also all the Treasurers accounts
yet by our travelling from one part of the Gom^t to the other
not

not fully perfected. His Exce^{ll} dismissed the Treasurer at N: York and sent him to Boston to take care that all things might be compleated and to looke after the Rates now to be paid in : this with our long Journeyes and Eastern troubles arising betwixt the English and Indians will make this a very Chargeable and expenfull yeare ; M^r Courtland at New York is at a stand to know what to do. Coll Dongan presses him to audite his account the Councill vpon pverfall of his Commission from M^r Blathwayt declare he has no power to take notice of it as Auditor. pray fende me a line to him what he is to do he not relying on my opinion, That without his Ma^{tes} or L^{ds} of the Treasuryes perticuler order he cannot enter vpon and allow such a large account.

you haue in feuerall of your Letters wrote me that if M^r Sprag ^{***} should come to N. York and desire my Deputation for Secry of that Province I was obliged to do it : I haue giuen M^r Courtland a Deputation for Dep^y Secry there but its disputed by M^r West who sayes I can haue but one Deputy in the whole Gom^t and a part of my ffees belonging to that Office are taken by an act passd in New York about 3 hours onely before his excellency left the place. viz : An act for all Masters of shippes and vessells to giue security vpon their arriuall not to carry off any Servants or Debtors before their names are sett vp 15 dayes in the Secrys Office and a tickett from the Gon^t or whom he shall appoint — Now this security is to be giuen to the Secretary or his Deputy in Boston : and to the Navall Officer in all other ports. So that altho this law was first made at New York . and it has been

^{***} For John Sprag, see *supra*, Letter LVII.

been the Common practice alwayes to enter into this bond at the Secrys Office in New York yet by this act its quite taken away vnder the notion that altho my Commission fayes in expresse Termes : (the Secrys Office to be executed by E R : his sufficiet Deputy or Deputyes) ⁸⁴⁰ yet that tis not in my power by that Commission to make but one Deputy : if so his Ma^{ie} would haue been Deceiued in appointing M^r Sprag to act as Deputy Secry : in the Province at N. Yorke when as I had no power to giue him such a Deputation . of which I intreat the favour of you to giue me your opinion in writing that I may at some convenient tyme shew it to his Excellence with whom I would gladly liue in peace and Satisfaction but I am in this and other things too hard presid by M^r West excuse this trouble the onely remedy I haue to represent such greivances to you hauing now none by me Coū. Mason being Dead and Cap^t Nicholson at New Yorke to discourse these matters I am S:

your most humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

I must beg that in passing the table of ffees and in the Acts I now mention to you : that there may be a Salvo for me that nothing passe contrary or to the prejudice of his Ma^{ies} letters patents granted to me : I desired this might be done in passing the Acts here but Dudley and West would not heare of it . as if to wrong me was the onely seruice they could do his Ma^{ie}

the poeple of Jarseys and N. York . think very hard to
haue

⁸⁴⁰ Randolph is here strictly accurate as to his rights. See the Patent *supra*, No. LXXII.

haue all administrations for estates aboue 50^{lb} value to be granted at Boston onely ^{as} the Charg and distance of place aboue 350 miles : and tedious dispatch and to be had no where else and they complaine already : this M^r West has done to bring all this profit to him selfe : I am confident that this Journey will advance his Office aboue 300^{lb} a yeare. and make that of New York not worth 50^{lb} all charges allowd.

[*Endorsed*] N England 7 Oct 1688

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 22 Dec. 1688

Whether M^r Cortlandt shall Audit Coll Dongan's Acco^{ts}

West will not admitt a Dep^t Sec^r at N. York &c.

An Act pas^d obliging ships to enter wth the Sec^r at Boston and wth the N^t Oficer in other ports. Q upon it

Desires a salvo of his his right in passing the table of fees

Administracions above 50^{lb} to be at Boston

LXXIX.

^{as} Cf. Leisler's letter to the Bishop of Salifbury (*New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III. p. 656), complaining that "most of the Records, Bookes, papers, and seale which belonged to this province were transmitted to Boston." See also *supra*, Vol. II. p. 83. Mr. Berthold Fernow, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Vol. IV. p. 410), writes as follows: "Edward Randolph the Secretary of the Dominion of New England carried

away [to Boston] ye severall Bookes before exprest 'says a Report of Commissioners appointed by the Committee of Safety of New York to examine the books, etc., in the Secretary's office, dated Sept. 23, 1689. Why he carried them off the minutes of the proceedings against Leister [sic] would probably disclose if found.' It was plainly West who was responsible, but as usual Randolph is blamed.

LXXIX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE INDIAN WAR.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston: Oct: 16: 1688

S^r

I came with his Exce^{ll}. heither yesterday after wee had rode aboue 500 miles in visiting all the townes vpon Connecticutt riuier : alarumd by the murther of 6 english at Northfeild 30 miles to the northward of any townes laid down in the N : Eng^d map : here wee find that at one tyme 40 men and at another tyme 50 men haue been Raised in and about this town to be sent Eastward without any order from the Gon^r to oppose the Indians who they report here would haue distressd all the Inhabitants in the province of Maine and forced them to quitt their houses: they haue made Garrison houses euery where and the poeple affrighted as much as if there was 1000 or 1500 Indians in armes, whereas at present wee heare of not aboue 50 or 60 about the Pro. of Main : and I feare the English will proue to be the first agressors. yet in regard they haue murdred a Jus-
tice of the peace and some others about Casco bay and others taken prisoners at Kennebeck River who we feare are all murthered to the number of 11 : the Gon^r is ffitting out feuerall small vessells to ply that coasts and men and armes to find out the murtherers and secure the peace and ffishery in those Eastern parts: how far Casteen³⁴² the french man
who

³⁴² For some account of Casteen, S^r: IV. pp. 224, 287; *Andres Tracts*, Vol. Castaing or S^r Castine, see *supra*, Vol. I. p. xxix.; *New York Colonial Documents*,

who liued at Panopscutt may be concernd in assisiting these Indians I know not, as yet wee haue reason to suspect him : from the relation of some Indians: his Excellence giues you and M^r Povey his humble seruice he has not tyme to write to any body having wrote from New York . and nothing certainly yet appears of this disturbance

I hope you haue receiued the severall accounts sent you : the Treasurer will return you by John ffoy the money due to you vpon those accounts as Auditor : his excellency has a mind to gett M^r Graham in to be treasurer here in M^r Vshers place : and has recommended to you M^r Courtland at New Yorke who is an able man : to succeed M^r Plowman Collector of all the Revenue there if the Lords of the Treasury do not thinke fitt to continue him in that station : the revenue there does very much sinke . and it must be the care and diligence of an Experiencd man to recouer it and bring it in a good method : which M^r Plowman is not so capable to do.

Now if M^r Courtland be ordred to succeed M^r Plowman in that station : he cannot be Auditir there and in regard my Deputation from you is for the whole Territory and dominion of New Eng^d if you please to order that I do likewise Auditir the Revenue at New York now part of N. Eng^d. It will bring in the greater advantage to you by that addition of your fees wth otherwise is swallowed vp by M^r Courtland : this

ments, Vol. IX. p. 265. He had married Indian wives and his daughter was married to "Medockawanda a great Sachem" (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1684, no. 1683 I., III.). The attack on him

was not politic. He was of sufficient importance to have ships of his own (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, p. 590), and he was no great friend of the French.

this I onely write that I may be yet further serviceable to you and to no other end: I haue onely to add my humble seruice and thankes to you for all your favors and to M^r Povey to whom I write by the next. I am S^r

your humble Seru^t

ED RANDOLPH

to M^r Blathwayt.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}:
M^r Blathwayte

[*Endorsed*] N England 16 Oct 1688
From M^r Randolph
Rec 1 Dec: 1688

Came to Boston wth the Go^r the 15th
Many houses Eastward Garrison^d for fear of the Indians
tho there be not above 50 or 60 in Maine.
They have killed a Justice of Peace and some others at
Casco Bay and taken som Prisoners at Kenebeck if not
Killed 11 men there
Some men are sent that way and vessels fitted to secure
the Peace and the fishery
Cafsteen suspected from the relation of the Indians
The Trea^r will return wth is due to the Audit^r by ffoy
The Gov^r defines Graham to be Tra^r at Boston and re-
comends Courtland for N York
If Courtld^d continue Dep^r Aud^r he will swallow the fees
there wherefore M^r Randolph desires ord^r to audit there

LXXX.

LXXX.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT : PIRACY AND THE
SPANISH WRECK.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston Oct: 19th 1688

S:

By Capt Ware I gaue you an account of 2 pyrates vpon our Coasts : One went into Road Island Harbour . the other kept the sea and harbour'd to the Eastward of Nova Scotia in a place called Beare harbour, great endeavours were vsed to feize Peterson²³ Master of the Barke Congo at Road Island but Cap^t Georges ship was so dull a sayler that he could do no good on it. I then acquainted you that Seuerall pyrates had stoln ashore from these vessells larg quantityes of plate etc : but no body vpon the place was impowered by S^t Rob^t Holmes²⁴ to feize the persons and goods or take their Composition for their liues.

A great treasure is stoln ashore vp and down the Country. the pyrates sett down quickly no way obliged by bond or otherwise to be responsible : since my going to N^t Yorke feuerall are come to this place and to N^t London . haue bought houses and lands are setled here bringing in 1000 or 1500th a man.

One

²³ For Peterson's remarkable exploits, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1688, no. 1877.

²⁴ Sir Robert Holmes had been commissioned to put down pirates in

the West Indies (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, no. 1411), with the right for three years to feize and keep all their goods (no. 1508).

One of my Officers seized in Boston a Chest with Spannish plate vpon the Top : but knowes not the whole contents. Its in Custody but cannot be medled with : he acknowledging him selfe to be a pyrate . till order from S: Rob: Holmes. Robert Glanvell M^r of the Ketch freindship of Salem importd about July last 40 Tons of logwood from 'the Bay of Honduras it did belong to thos 2 pyrates he came in Company with them vpon this Coast. Since which he went with his Ketch and loaded aboard out of the Pyrate in Beare harbour 3500 Spannish Hides seized at Salem by my Officer (if not much damaged worth 1500^l he will be tryed vpon the law ag^t trading with pyrates . but for the Goods they will perish nobody being here impowred to looke after them.)

In yours of the 10th of March to me you hinted that I had a good opportunity to make my fortune vpon a Surrender of these pyrates. if I had at the same tyme receiued a deputation from S: Robert Holmes I might haue gaind him a great Estate and my selfe well paid for my seruice for I could haue got him 70 /or 80000^l but that tyme is ouer and wee must play at small games. If he yet please to send me a Deputation with such Instructions as are necessary for his seruice I question not but he may find advantage by it . otherwise all will be lost for want of a tymely proceeding . which I submitt to your consideration. I haue onely to add that if S: Robert haue not taken due care to inspect the pyrates in this Country . all pyrates goods primarily appertaining to his Ma^{tie} twere necessary that some orders did issue from the Lords of the Treasury to saue these Goods for his Ma^{tie} or dispose of what is perishable to the end there may bee a good account

account giuen thereof to his Ma^{te} I haue onely to acquaint you that that Peterson has been vp Canada River : and quite broake the new design of the ffishery begun there to bee setled and to that degree that they will not be able to repaire their losse sustaint by him : of which I shall giue you a perticuler Relation by the next and remain S^r

your most obedient humble Serv^t

to M^r Blathwayt

ED RANDOLPH

[*In another hand*] Mem^{da} M^r Blathwayt proposed to S^r R Holmes in Jan: last the fending of as his Agent to N England but not agreed to.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}

M^r Blathwayt at the

Plantation Office :

Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] N. England 19 Oct. 1688

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 1 Dec. 88

N. England 19 Oct: 1688

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 1 Dec: 1688

Two Pirats upon the Coast one went to Rhode Island the other to Bear Harb^t

Much Plate stoln a shore by them and sev^{al} Pirats worth 1000 or 1500^l a man haue lately setled at Boston and New London A Chest with Spanish Plate seized and can^t be touched for want of S^r R. H's order

The Ketch frendfhip brought in 40 tuns of Logwood belonging to the Pirats, and has since brought in 1500 hides belonging to them which are seized

Peterson has Ruined the fishing in Canada River:

LXXXI.

LXXXI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE INDIAN WAR.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Boston: No^o the 8: 1688.

S:

Since my last to you by Cap: Gilham the Scene of our affaires are altred for the worse: the Indians Eastward being much increased. about a fortnight ago they came to a town called New Dartmouth vpon Sheepe's gutt River ^{as} where was a small fort with 4 or 5 Great Guns. there was 146: they fell vpon the houses burnt them euen vp to the fort and couering themselues vnder the smoak of the houses the wind blowing it towards the fort they charged euen vp to the Guns: after that the next morning they fell vpon a ship and a sloop built there in which the Inhabitants had putt their Goods intending to make their escape: but the Indians fired and kild some of the men being vpon a high bank which commanded the vessells and made themselues m^r of them both they haue since burnt a place called New Town vpon Ronseck Island (granted to M^r West) lying vpon Kennebeck Riuier It appeares all this proceedes from a great misapprehencion of some English about Saco Riuier: vpon a small difference vpon some who putt their cattell vpon a little Island on which the Indians had 2 or 3 wigwams

^{as} Mather (*Magnalia Christi*, ed. Robbins, Vol. II. p. 587) gives three different accounts of the origin of this war, the first of which (p. 584) substantially agrees with that of Randolph.

He refers, though guardedly, to Blackman as the principal person responsible for the outbreak, and quite rightly condemns the impolicy of the attack upon Saint Casseen (p. 586).

wams and had planted their corn : they bad the English keep off their oxen else they would shoot them ; they tooke no notice of it but turnd them vpon the Indians land : who shot one with small shot this incensd one Cap^t Blackman a Justice of the peace who soon after vpon a report of the murther committed at Northfeild by the french Indians (as I haue formerly shwon)^{**} and notice from Cap^t Nicholson that they should take care of themselues, they feized 7 men and 14 old women and children and sent them vp prisoners to Boston with a letter to Cap^t Nicholson . who sent them all immediately back againe : to Blackman with directions to sett them at liberty : Coll Ting thought with them to redeeme some of the English captiues from the Indians and (as they pretended) hauing no convenient place ashoare to keep their returnd Indian prisoners . they kept them aboard the vessell wth brought them from Boston : at the same tyme the Indians were surprized to heare some of them were sent away prisoners and no reason giuen for it : they mett about 70 at a fort of theirs called Taconnett vp the head of Kennebeck River where was a french preist 4 dayes with them in consult : he told one Smith an English captiue he came amongst them onely to acquaint them there was a God etc : (as Smith who escaped when they attackd New Dartmouth) has told his Excellence) he supplyed them with armes and ammunition : these Indians came down with all their English prisoners . had made Smith their Atturny to mediate with the English then at ffalmouth at Casco Bay . to desire that the Indians might be sett at liberty and they would release their English prisoners and make satisfaction for the

** Letter LXXIX.

the Cattell they had kild: they had besides sent one Hopewood a known Indian with a Sachems son to treat with the English they take them both prisoners mistake Smiths errand or would not harken to him: they fire vpon the Indians wound some: the Indians tooke some English kild two carried the other prisoners: and now are as I haue said encreased their numbers. and vpon notice that their Indians were sent againe to Boston and committed to Goal expecting nothing but vtter ruine. they ravage euerywhere and are come now to do all mischeife: which they do vndisturb'd the poeple being struck with a pannick feare: now to prevent this his Excellence did at his return sett the Indian prisoners ffree, nothing being laid to their charge by any of the Councill: then published a proclamation: and sent down 100 of his souldiers with officers to feuerall places Cap: Trefry is gone to Pemmaquid. Leiftn: Jordan²⁶⁷ to New Dartmouth Leiftn: We[e]ms²⁶⁸ to ffalmouth and Ensign Andros²⁶⁹ to the fort at Sacadehock at the mouth of

Kennebeck

²⁶⁷ John Jordan was one of the officers feized by his own soldiers and carried a prisoner to Boston. He was accused by them of cruelty, and his defence (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, nos. 207, 208) is a valuable document as to the modes of enforcing discipline in the army at the time, "picketing" being one of the methods adopted. He was released with the other captives (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 902).

²⁶⁸ James Weems was with Brockholes at Pemaquid, and was also feized by his soldiers. But the settlers infisted on retaining him with them (*Calendar*

of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689, nos. 286 I, 316). He was afterwards an efficient officer in the service of the New York Government, and so continued for some years (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696, no. 536).

²⁶⁹ Fones Andros was appointed commandant at Fort Pemaquid on 27th August (*supra*, Vol. II. p. 39 note). For the New England Agents' defence with regard to the arrest of these officers, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 913. Mather reprobates the conduct of the mutinous troops (*ubi supra*).

Kennebeck furnished with all sorts of necessaryes . and has likewise by consent of the Councill raised 300 men more which are hard to be gott out of feuerall Countyes and more difficult to gett Officers to command them. his Excellence did propose it to Maj Gen^l Winthrop born in their country and one in vogue amongst the poeple. he at first assented but afterwards declined it wholy; amongst the whole Councill not one found fitt or willing to go out to preserue their own Country. his Excell^t has therefore moued it in Councill that he would command them and is accordingly taken vp in preparing cloathes Armes Ammunition vessells provisions (as well to support the poore poeple droue from their habitations as the souldiers) saylers to man the vessells who are forcd to be pressd : tho' Cap^t George has aboue 80 men aboard his ship Rose Disabled (as he fayes) and riding at an Anchor before Boston : and cannot be repaired till the Spring: his Excellence desired him to sayle in very good weather but from Nantaskett to Piscataqua : the best winter harbour in N: Eng^d the countenance of such a frigott might Awe the Indians and his men if vpon an extreamity might do some seruice but he could not assent to it : and now the poeple report that his Excellence intends to bring the french vpon them. Such vngratefull and stuburn poeple has he to deal with . and the members of the Councill M^r Vther Cap^t Palmer and my selfe excepted: are very heavy and backward to what ende is for his Ma^{ts} seruice they are greatly animated from their freinds at home : and Mr Shrimpton being serud with a Writt of Intrusion for a small Island he holds of the Townsmen in Boston : stands to defend it and tho' cast at last court intends by appeal to bring the case before King and

and Councill . the cheife being of Councill with him. his Excellence discharges all offices : from Generall to Sutler : giuing himselfe no tyme to eate or sleepe : munday next he goes to piscataqua . Seuerall of the Raifd men being marchd before and there goes aboard for the Eastward. I am preparing to accompany him intending neuer to leaue him . so long as I am able to follow. the losse of the province of Maine and parts further Eastward will vtterly ruine our fishery the cheife support of this country: Our Councill haue little land there which makes them to[o] regardlesse of it; One of our messengers sent to the Gon: of Canada is returnd : he giues an account of the Country to be very Barren . the poeple in generall miserably poore and sickly haue nothing to support them but Eeles salted . that many are returnd to france : that the preists and Merc^{ts} are the onely fomenters of the warr : thereby hauing great sums of money passing thro' their hands : I haue not yet seen the letter being at present not very well . but you will haue a copy of it and when euer wee return a perticuler account of the Country taken by an ingenuous person whom his Excell sent to that end. my humble Seruice to your lady and happines to your family : his Excell not knowing wheither he can haue tyme to write to you commands me to present his humble seruice to you. I haue onely to ad that I am S: your most humble Serv:

ED RANDOLPH ,

M^r Blathwayt.

[*Endorsed*] N: England 8 Nov: 1688
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 15 Jan^r 88

The

The Indians have fain upon Dartmouth at Sheep's Gut River
They have burnt New Town near Kenebeka River.
These disturbances arise upon a difference between Cap:
Blackman and the Indians at Saco River ab^t cattle put
into their land and upon the Murther upon Conochent (?)
River Cap^t Blackman seized some of them

LXXXII.

RANDOLPH TO SIR JAMES HAYES.

Board of Trade, Hudson's Bay, Vol. I. p. 255.

S:

Boston : Jan⁷ 6 : 1688

I forgett not my duty nor obligations I haue to serue the Interest of Hudsons Bay Company & tho' I haue been here nigh 3 years had nothing worth giuing you the trouble of my letter what I haue now please to accept, & is as followes.

His Excellence S: Edm^d Andros since the Annexing the Province of New Yorke to this Gom^t has sent Seuerall Expresses with his letters to y^e Gon^t at Canada amongst them the last was one Major Mackgregor³⁵⁰ formerly an Officer in france who amongst other Things which plainly demonstrate That during the Cessation of Arms agreed vpon between the Two Crownes of England & france Our Mouns. d' Loviner Leiftn^t & Aide Major of the french forces in Canada were vp the Great River towards Hudsons Bay (the name of the River has forgott) & setled a Garison of 50 men

³⁵⁰ Patrick Macgregor was another of the officers who were seized by their own troops in 1689. He was an active and intelligent officer who contructed a map of the French and English "marches" in Canada, which Randolph secured (*post*, Letter LXXXVI¹). He was afterwards killed in the King's service (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, no. 1380), and his heirs provided for.

men at one of the places belonging to the English (Port Nelson as he belieues) & returned privately to Kebeck in October last whilst another Express from Our Gon: was there who knew nothing of the matter: Neither had Major Mackgregor vnlesse one of ye french Officers there, & his old acquaintance told it him for Great Newes: thus the french during the Cessation encroach vpon vs: as they do in other places vnder a notion of Converting ye Indians To make themselues Sole Masters of the Beaver Trade. the Cessation is of Advantage to the french & not to the English for during that (which wee know not when it will terminate) they enlarg their bounds & pretentions as they please by raising new & repairing their Old forts, & where euer a french man Hunts or Setts vp a small wigwam It giues them a title to all the Land thereabouts as far as he pleases to clayme: whereas if wee were not obliged by the Cessation wee should soon bring them to a more orderly Conformity & had not Coll Dongan been wheedled by a french priest from Canada all their forts & townes had been destroyed by our Indians before the Cessation arived: the case was thus: the french had one of their cheife Forts amongst our Indians very much distressed for want of provisions twas not tyme of yeare to supply them: Some of Our Indians had notice of it & prayd leaue to go out a Hunting: but the priest before he went to Canada pretending his fears of Our Indians obliged Coll Dongan not to permitt the Indians to go abroad till the Return of One Derick Wessells ^{as1} who accom-
panied

^{as1} For Dirck Wessells and the *and West Indies*, 1688, no. 1896, and whole of the Albany negotiations, cf. the documents annexed, also printed in *Calendar of State Papers, America* *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III.

panied the priest to Canada the priest & Wessells arive there : Wessells desires to return to Albany, but was presd to stay till the Gon^t of Canada's coming to town who stayd abroad to Fitt out about 300 Canoes loaden with all sorts of provisions which he dispatched away to the relieve of the fort : & then all danger of their being sett vpon by our Indians being ouer they fent Wessells home : Col^t Dongan keeping about 200 Indians in albany & there abouts at ye Kings charge who were very much dissatisfied to loose such an opportunity of being revenged of the French who in tyme of peace vnder pretence of Freindship Surprised a bout 28 of their cheife warriers sent them to France in Irons where they remaine prisoners in the Gallyes. this the Indians Complaind of to his Excellence S^t Edm^d Andros at Albany where feuerall from all the 5 Nations of ye Indians attended & congratulated his return to his former Gom^t amongst other their complaints ag^t y^e French : that of the Captivating their brothers was according to their manner well described. Euery Nation had their perticuler Speaker: who at conclusion of his discourse, layes down at ye Gon^t Feet a Belt of their wampan : the Nation of the Synekes whose freinds were Surprized told the Gon^t the memory of their Cap^t was as bright & lasting as the Sun : & the wrong would neuer be forgott nor pardned by them they praid his Excell^t to gett them restored : if he expected they should obserue the Cessation & presented their Belt of wampan with 27 : small sticks of wood fasned to one end of it: this I obserue to you
to

III. p. 555, *et seq.* The whole story of the French aggression is summarised in *State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-88, pp. xiv-xix. Hudfon's Bay is especially dealt with on p. xix.

to demonstrate my opinion that ye french onely are benefited by this Cessation & that if his Ma^{ie} would giue vs leaue wee are soon able to sett them their bounds but S^r whilst I am treating you as formerly at ye Buffalo's head : ^{as} I receiued the Sad newes which euery vessell is loaden with from England : I heartily pray befor this ariue that all may be in peace & quiett at home & wee may haue our faire Stroake at the french in this part of the world hauing now 1000 Indians & more ready to lett loose vpon them besides shippes & men enough to drieue them out of America; Some Indians haue lately fallen vpon our Eastern parts & done a great deal of Damage burning houses & corn killing some & taking others prisoners. & a preist in councill with them. So lately 40 Indians who vsed to trade at our townes were sett in Councill & a priest with them. they drieue on their interest hard : but Our Gon^r marchd theither about 2 months ago with a Considerable force & takes care to keep them from their hunting & fishing & the french thereabouts are all ready to starue since the late Articles of treaty & Commerce which prohibits vs to trade with them. I intreat you to pardon this rambling discourse which I haue not tyme to correct being just now come from ye Gon^r & am prently returning after I haue paid you my duty & told you that I am in all sincerity S^r

my humble Seruice to S^r Ed Your most humble Seru^r
 Dering & to all ye Gen^r of ED. RANDOLPH
 ye Hon^b Company

I

^{as} In Letter LV. this is called the Bull's Head. It is constantly mentioned in Pepys's *Diary* as a place of fashionable resort.



I do not accuse Coll Dongan he is
a Great Officer nor desire that part may be communicated
but tis matter of fact & tis true. E. R.

LXXXIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT, AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Boston . June . 4th 1689.

Hon^d S:

I heartily congratulate y^r Hon^d his Ma^{tie} has done you in
continuing you in the station of Clerke of the Councill ³⁵³
and to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for
Trade and foraine Plantations. S^r Hauing wrote to you so
plentifully by M^r Riggs ³⁵⁴ who went hence for London by
way of New Yorke: I referr you to those papers . which I
hope will be with you long before the arrivall of my worthy
freinds M^r Ratcliffe and M^r Brenley who will saue me the
trouble of writing any thing further to you : there hauing no
thing hapned confiderable since M^r Rigs departure from
hence. I inclose to you a copy of an Answeare ³⁵⁵ to the
printed Declaration : published the 18 of Aprill : and also to
the

³⁵³ Blathwayt had been appointed (or reappointed) Clerk of the Privy Council in February.

³⁵³ dies, 1689, nos. 630, 632), allowed the letters to be taken from him. See *post*, Letter XCIII.

³⁵⁴ John Riggs delivered letters from New England to the Lords of Trade (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 260), and was entrusted with letters in return, but falling into Leisler's hands (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, nos. 630, 632), allowed the letters to be taken from him. See *post*, Letter XCIII.

³⁵⁵ This Answer is among the *State Papers* (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 181), and is given in full, *supra*, Vol. V. p. 1. The tract signed A. B. is also calendarized as no. 180, but is said to be signed H. B.

the printed paper signd A : B : which you haue already sent you : my humble seruice to the Earl of Nottingham principall Secry of State to my L^d of London . and to S^r Robert Sowthwell : who M^r Pen writes me is looked vpon to be the other Secretary of State. lett M^r Penn know I receiued his letter opned : and one also from M^r Savage of the Custome houfe for which I thanke them : my hearty affection to my wife and blessing to my children. by the inclosed you see the opinion of some is farr different from the generall humours of the many in this Colony : I hope to heare from you : pray direct your letters for me to George Monke at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in Boston putting them vnder a cover to him which may passe them to me vnsuspected. pray God bring good out of this evill to me and others in the like suffring condition with me my seruice to M^r Chaplin and M^r Povey. I am S^r

your obliged Seru^t
ED RANDOLPH

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
William Blathwayte Esq; Clerke
of his Ma^{ies} Most Hon^{ble} prvye
Councill
by M^r Ratcliffe att Whitehall

[*Endorsed*] N England 4 June 1689
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 27 July 89
per M^r Vsher

LXXXIV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Common Goal. N : Algeires
in New England : July 20 : 89.

Sr

who would haue questioned but the poeple who 13 weekes ago pulld down a Setled Gom: and erected their Old one should be quiett and subject to it, but nothing lesse ; here is a violent and bloody zeal stird vp in the Rabble acted and managed by the preachers . So that when euer they haue a design of mischeife, tis done vpon their first direction : I haue wrote in my letter to Cap: nicholson sent by Robin the Gon: seruant that M^r Dudley vpon his request to the Councill obtained leaue to be confind to his house at Roxbery : 6 of the Representatiuies told the Gon: and Councill t'was their Assent also : you haue N^o 1 . a Duplicate of it . as also of the Bond N^o 2 : vpon which he went on the 13th instant home : before 10 aclock that night a Rabble of aboue 150 men calling at M^r Bradstreets house first to know by what order M^r Dudley was out of Goal and calling him old Rogue) went to M^r Dudley house : broak down his ffence fetchd him to the Goal kept him at the Gate 2 hours . then left him vnder the care of a Constable. munday the 15th One Deering^{**} well known to M^r Vsher and Cap: Nicholson . with

^{**} The order for committal of Deering, and indeed all the enclosures here mentioned are contained (but in a different order) in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 286.

with one Winsloe who married his daughter were sent to the prison for being head of that Rabble and the better to pretend their dislike of his action and that they would not send any to Goal they frame a mittimus N° 3 : he had not continued in Goal aboue 2 houres . but the Gon: vnder pretence of busines sents for the Keeper and in the meane tyme a Constable fetches Deering out of Goal : his son in Law was baild out by Bradstreets direction and made head of the faction and Rabble Munday night following . when the women boyes and negros sett vpon Paiges house broak all the Windowes & Mr Dudley for feare left the house conveyed himselfe but not vnseen to Coll. Legett : ²⁵⁷ being discovered to be there great care was taken to gett him to Goal. One of his Baile Cott Shrimpton being afraid his house would be pulld down by the Rabble should M^r Dudley make his escape vied his arguments to haue him returne to goal : but nothing more does demonstrate the inability of the Gom: to defend their own act and the power the Rabble do vpon all such fuddaine Emergencyes exercise then M^r Bradstreetes letter to M^r Dudley N° 4 and that would hardly secure him from being committed himselfe nay they were in such feare he would be gone . that an Order was prepared to be published by beat of Drum to make it treason for any person whateuer to harbour him or conceal him.

One Georg Wells a Sayler and of Cape Ann was obserued to be very busy in the Riott . he was brought to Goal . about

I 2

²⁵⁷ This is evidently Charles Lidgett, *and West Indies*, 1689, no. 305). He or Lydgott (the forms Lydcott, Lydgett, Lidgett are also found), who was at some time or other imprisoned with Andros (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, no. 1728).

12 a clock on Munday night but lett out with his companions the next day vpon humbling themselues to the Councill : he and his Company 6 or 7 men are all saylers aboard John Vpdike Master of the Ketch which brings this letter. It were well they were all sent for examined and sent back to Boston to be punishd. I inclose to you a Copy of an Order for a fast . N^o 5 : wee very much feare the dire effects of their fasting.

The paper N^o 6 : is a Copy of a Warr: and execution ferued vpon an honest man of Our Church now in Goal . because he will not pay a fine of 4^{lb} nor Go to the Indian Warr. Seuerall other poore men are here also vpon the same Reason. they know no Authority they haue to preffe men and see no way how they shall be paid some hauing been abroad this whole last Wint^r without one penny for their seruice: the Cap^t in Boston preffe good house keepers of whom they haue 4 . 5 : and 6^{lb} a man to provide a man for them : the money being receiued . they preffe any poor man and giue him 20^o or if he will not go they will gett 4^{lb} of him before he comes out of Goal : this is the better part of their methods to gett poor men to serue ag^t the Enemye.

I send you a booke putt out by young Mather. the Epistle to M^r Winthrop showes what great hopes the church men had of his turning Rebell to serue their Turn: this Mather had a meeting of Armd men at his house the night before they entred vpon their strange worke. he has shewed his Christian Spiritt in his Appendix : calculated for one Georg Keith^{***} a Quaker of whom Cap^t Nicholson and M^r Visher
can

^{***} This is the famous "Christian Quaker," who was afterwards ordained to the Anglican priesthood by Compton, Bishop of London (1700). His secef-
sion

can giue an account and of the falcityes contained therein. I intreat you to communicate these these papers and booke to Cap: Nicholson M^r Visher and M^r Ratcliffe for I haue not tyme nor any particuler busines to write to them. pray pervse that letter to the Marquis of Hallifax : if you think it more proper to adrefse it to any other of the Lords of the Councill you may please to putt it vnder another couer and direction: I wish all happines to you and your Lady. wee think it long to haue no shippes from England. M^r Mather has wrote to his freinds here that he stodp the Circuler letter with their Ma^{tie} declaration to continue all Officers in their respectiue places : which wee heare is sent to all other of his Ma^{tie} Plantations. my seruice to S^r Rob^r Sowthwell and to M^r Povey: I am S^r:

your most humble and
faist freind

ED RANDOLPH

my seruice to Cap:

Nicholson I haue wrote to
him feuerall letters.

[*Addressed*] to M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] N : England 20 July 1689

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 2 Nov : 1689

M^r Dudley Bayled out But is brought to Gaole againe by the
Rable

Deering imprisoned for heading the Rable but they fetch him
out againe

An

tion from Quakerism is said to date 1716. (Article by Rev. Alexander from his emigration to New England Gordon, in the *Dictionary of National in this very year (1689); he died in Biography*, Vol. 30. p. 318.)

An Order making it treason to Harbour Dudley

An Order for a fast

Men Pressed but the Authority Questioned

A Booke set forth by Young Mather

A letter for My L^d P seal

LXXXV,

LETTER TO SOUTHWELL: SUPPOSED ARRIVAL OF RANDOLPH.

Board of Trade, New England, Vol. V. no. 22 A.

Extract of M^r John Napper's letter ²⁰⁰ to
S^r Rob^r Southwell from Penzance the
24th of July 1689

This Morning Early Came within a league of this Place
a New England ship ab^t 200 tunns & 16 Guns bound as
they say for London she is called the Dolphin of & from
New England John Foy Mast^r they put on board one of our
Fishing boats Six passengers one of which I understand by
some of the others, was a Sec^r to y^e Gov^r of the place in y^e late
K^rs time & has a Considerable Quantity of Money on board
in Cash &c the[y] tooke Horse Immediatly for Plimouth.

[Endorsed]

24 July 1689

Extract of a letter from
Penzance touching
Money On board the
Dolphin from N England

B. A

P. 30

LXXXVI.

²⁰⁰ This curious letter is believed
(and no doubt correctly) by the editor
of the *Colonial State Papers* to refer
to Randolph. The mysterious traveller
was probably an imposter who adopted
this method of obtaining facilities for a
rapid journey.

LXXXVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT
AND THE WAR.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Common Goal July 30th 89.

S:

The Ketch remaining yet in the Harbour, I am further to add; that the Indians haue fallen vpon Saco in the Province of Maine: haue burnt 4 houses a stack of Wheat kild 10 men and wounded 4. and haue taken aboue 20 good Armes. the men who went out ag^t them for want of good conduct were some cutt off, others fled and cast away their arms to saue their Liues: these, with other Calamityes, are by the distresled made known to the pretended Gom^t they take no notice of it: their cheife care being how to secure themselves in their new Goverm^t against any Orders or force from his Ma^{re} hauing drawn in all the Country either by threats of Imprisonm^t or promises of favour to side wth them: the Acts of Trade are not thought off here. and all matters accomodated to the present humour of the Rabble who crye out that the sword Gouerns and must protect them in that Goverm^t you may please to inform their Lords^{pp} of the Committee for trade: that wee haue certaine advise by one Alden ³⁸⁰ who is a Great trader with the Eastern french newly

³⁸⁰ For the treacherous dealings of 1875; and for his capture by the former George Alden with the French and Indians, see *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1691, no. 1911.

newly returned heither : that S: Casteen the ffrenchman who liues at Penobscutt told Alden 4 french frigotts with 2 Merc: men were arriued at Quebeck from france that Casteen had notice of the Warr betwixt Eng^d and france. Wee are now an easy prey to the french vnlesse care bee taken from Eng^d to secure this Country . ruind by dissention. wee haue flying Reports that his Ma^u: is fending 2 frigotts w^u some merc^u ships to vs . that Mather returnes without a Charter : this does not at all affect them : M^r Moode assures the poeple that they need not a charter : hauing their former in as good fforce as it was in 1660 : that they know no King or Power or Lawes in England has any Influence vpon them, further then their Charter privileges admitt of. their malice with their ill treatment of his Excell^t and others Imprisoned encreases . they hold this day a Court in Boston. Maj^t Richards is a Great stickler with Cooke and Addington well known to Cap^t Nicholson and M^t Vsher : I haue a mapp of all the Land and Lakes where the five Nations of the Indians aboue Albany are setled with all the french fforts made in that Country from Quebeck to the Great Riuer running into the Gulfe of florida : made by Maj^t Mack Gregory: had S: Edm^d Andros continued in the Gom^t wee had long since putt an iſſue to the Indian warr : brought all the ffrench as far as S: Croix vnder the obedience of the Crown of Eng^d and droue them out of all their pretentions and acquests in the 5 Nations of Indians poffessions . and been sole Masters of all the Beaver trade in North America : but now this will be a chargeable Enterprize to effect : beſides tis not 30000^{lb} will repaire the losſe already done by the Indians in our Eastern parts . beſides the losſe of nigh

70 persons kilde and taken captiues since the 18 of April; here is a vast difference in the humors of our ministers since the tyme M^r Ratcliffe and M^r Vsher left this place their endeavors being more to embroil the Country then to preserue it by favour of the Crown and pardon for their past Crimes . hauing done nothing but what their charter and their Lawes Warrant . and haue besides the Militia of the whole Colony at their command. Wee waite with patience for effectuall redresse of these Generall Calamityes giuing my humble seruice to S^r Rob^t Sowthwell to your selfe Lady and all freinds. I am S^r

your humble serv^t

E. R.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
 William Blathwayt Esq³
 at the Plantation Office
 Whitehall:

[*Endorsed*] N England 30 July 1689
 From M^r
 Randolph
 Rec^d 26 Sept 89

LXXXVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

to M^r Blathwayt Common Goal in Boston: Oct. 8: 89.
 S:

Since writing the inclosed a Duplicate whereof I haue sent to the Lords of the Committee of trade by way of Barbados :

Barbados : wee haue had a fort at Oyster River neer Exiter taken by the Indians and 18 Christians kild and carried away prisoners : Great care has been taken and at last agreed to by the Comm^r of the vnited Colonyes : viz^t this : Plymouth and Conncticott : to send out men ag^t the Indians : this has from feuerall townes raised and 6 : or 700 men they say are marchd ag^t the enemy : but lye in Garrison in the remaining Townes in the Province of Main and eate vp such corn and Cattle as yet haue escaped the Enemy : which done I expect to haue them return. N. Plymouth sent out 50 English and aboue 100 Indians vnder Cap^t Church ²²¹ he accidentally landed at Casco when the Indians were designd to take that town and fort : they report for the Creditt of the matter that he had kild 50 or 60 enemyes : Its certaine the English lost and were wounded 15 or 16 : and not one Indian Scalp yet seen of those many kild : tho' they make wonders of this to animate the poeple. I am well assured they sommers work is at an End : wee expect their return : and demand for their pay : of this the Gom^t are sensible : and their Treasurer Phillips has issued out his Warr^t to raise a Rate vpon the poeple : N^o 1 : (a plaine demonstration that they are in actuall posses^sion and administration of their charter Gom^t) but the poeple deny their power to raise money and to keepe courts as appeares by M^r Graues ²²² his paper

N^o:

²²¹ Benjamin Church (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 46) was a New Plymouth man, and was practically the only real commander sent by the new Government against the Indians. He assured them that Andros's plan of flying columns was the only way to fight such an enemy; whereupon he was deprived of his commission

(*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 884). A Benjamin Church, either this man or his father, had done good service in King Philip's war (Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 156).

²²² Thomas Graves or Greaves (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 86) was a determined anti-revolutionary

N^o 2 : he is a Justice of the peace born in the Country and a very sober Gent: vpon the Councill's notice of his paper they send for him Cap^t Sprag and others of Charles Town they appeare and openly acknowledg their paper (as in M^r Graues his paper . N^o 3 vpon this they order them to be sent to Cambridg Goal: they refused to go told them they had no power to send them to Goal. Sprag who had tyme to giue in bond for his appearance or go to Goal: came next day to M^r Addington and told him he came on purpose to disown their power: would go home and if any man came forceably into his houfe he woud kill him: the Councill with representatiuies are now mett but dare do nothing wth them. the men of Charles town and of feuerall townes there abouts threatning to pull down the Goal if they put them in : I inclose also a larg discourse wrote by a very sober Gent to prevent the poeple of Connecticott assuming their Gom^t hee is a man of such note that his paper has very much affected the poeple . So that this Colony are now made very inclining to S^t Edm^d Andros ; and say if they must pay any money it shall be by order from him who has a legall Authority : this paper will be printed and dispersd in the Gom^t the printed paper sent also : has been newly sett a foot. the poeple begin to think of shifting for themselues and are laying the blame vpon those who drew them in. Agents haue been sent from this Gom^t to Albany to treat with the Maques Indians to invite them down to fall vpon Our Eastern Indians : They allowed

revolutionary. He generally appears government (*Calendar of State Papers, as acting with Richard Sprague and America and West Indies, 1689, nos. Charles Lidgett, and is repeatedly 484, 741, 743.*) mentioned as appealing against the new

allowed 300^l towards the charge of this Expedition and for presents made to them at Albany : their Errand and Successe you haue in an abstract of Coll. Byards letter^{***} to M^r West which I here with send you. Nine Maques are come to Boston : they are treated with thanks and entertainment at the publick charge : they enquire for S^r Edm^d Andros : and these poeple hauing by their inviting them heither discouered their weaknes and ill treatment of the Gon^r are indeed inviting them to fall vpon the Christians about Albany so soon as they haue concluded with the french : the discourse in that letter confirmes to you the opportunity of our driving the french out of their forts setled by them by force amongst the 5 Nations of Indians : and had S^r Edm^d Andros been at Liberty wee had been Masters of all the bever Trade as well to the Eastward which the french now haue and of that at Albany, where I heare has been a great Trade with the Indians this yeare, and nothing but our present distractions will make these Indians high and despise vs: you may please to remember that in my letters sent you from N^r York last yeare I acquainted you of the Indians and English kild by the french Indians in Northfeild and about Springfeild : which occasioned an alarum thro this whole Country : which was the effects of the Maques Indians falling a little before vpon the french : and now the Indians hauing as in Coll : Byards letter made so great havock of them they haue ordred their french Indians to fall vpon vs. and accordingly they

^{***} Bayard's letter is given in *Calendar New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. of *State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 450, as "to a Gentleman of Boston," and is also printed in III. p. 620. Randolph's statement here identifies the person written to as West.

they haue kild 3 Christians liuing 3 miles off Scaneidity a very good fortifyed town 20 miles from Albany : and the Dutch at Albany are so apprehensiuue, that the french intend to fall vpon them this winter that the Mayor sent to Jacob Leisler Cheife of the Rebells at New York for Ammunition etc : to defend themselues : instead whereof he sends to M^r Bradstreet for ammunition of all sorts and promises vpon Hon^t to repay him and if he cannot spare him what he writes for but to send him one Tonn of Saltpeter: Bradstreet sends him word he has but 8: Barr^{ls} powder in the stores : and that what euer accident should happen they had not here aboue 60 Barr^{ls} of pouder in publick and private stores : I well remember S^t Edm^t Andros carried with him to N. York last yeare from hence aboue 60 Barr^{ls} of pouder: Armes and plenty of all stores of Warr: and supplyed albany from thence sufficiently (for till he came to that place they had not one Round of pouder for the guns in the fort: nor a Ladle or a Spung fitt to vse.) New Yorke was as much wanting but refitted by him : at Boston about 200 Barr^{ls} powder: aboue 200 small Arms Byanetts Swords etc: proportionable . but the Arms stores and euery thing which belonged to the King are all imbezled : so that I am well assured should the french make as briske an assault vpon this town but with 500 good men as they did at S^t Christophers with a greater number they would carry the place: in the account of the Indians taking of pemmaquid . I write you they were well armd and supplyed by all necessaryes from the french : and its very true for they were supplyed about may and the Maques fell vpon them some weekes after else wee had heard of them in our Eastern parts long before this tyme: those Indians keep

vp

vp the forts . wee dare not looke towards them : they say there were 3 or 400 of them gott to Casco : they will lye still till our men are returnd home :

Wee haue in Salem a pyrate : of a ship of 24 Guns 24 peteraras : 75 men (but takes in more dayly from hence) a dutch man he pretends to be but has no Commission has brought in a prize from the Banks of N. foundland he comes and takes in Boston and Salem : Cap^t Georg is still at an Anchor in the Harbour they had rather be ruind by pyrates then trust him with their fayles: as to the A^cts of Trade (M^r Bradstreet calls one Tho. Hill Navall Officer but he nor his Officer signifie any thing) they are laid asleepe One vessell of 148 Hogg^s of tobacco came heither from Maryland (where bond was giuen to go to Eng^t directly) onely to stope a leake : the Owners turnd out the Master because he would proceed his voyage : and haue arefted the Cargo pretending a Debt vpon it : they will unload it and send it abroad : a Ketch is now gone for Bilboa loaden with fish and tobacco : a ketch lately from Maryland tobacco loaden belonging to Boston came in to this port her M^r had like wise giuen bond there : but he left the ketch here and another M^r went in her to Scotland or Holland : and for Brandee and oyle wee haue plenty brought in our vessells from N: foundland. my Officers went to seize a vessell loaden with Oyle and Brandee by affistance of Gen^t Bradstreets warr^t the Constable laught at them and the M^r would not let them go aboard : Hill : Bradstreets officer seized vpon a Barr^t Brandee : the Owner an Inhabitant told Bradstreet if he did not order the delivery of it to him . he would bring 100 men and putt him out of his Gom^t (I could giue you more

more of these instances :) telling him they had putt S: Ed: Andros and me in prisone for hindring their trading . and they would not suffer him to do it : I haue wrote here of to the Comm^r of the Customs. By what I haue wrote you it plainly appeares this Country is in very ill circumstances : they know not how to keep the poeple in quiett : much longer finding no charter (as was promised) come : nor no power from England to gouern them. Wee looke earnestly for releife and force from England else wee are likely to continue our Stations all this winter : some are for letting vs out . others feare the poeple will putt them in who were the occasions of this trouble and (I feare) ruine to this Country, which without speedy Orders from home will vnavoidably fall vpon it : the Gon^r is troubled most barbarously in a Ground Room in the Castle very small . no chimney . Euery Raine falls makes a floud vnder his bed. they intend if possible to kill him with Cold and extreamity of cruelty : but I hope God will preserue him and vs from the malice and base degenerate treatment of professing Cowards : were they men they would abominate to vse a slave as they imperiously vse him dayly : I question not your care and sincere resentment of their inhumane actions and that in good tyme wee shall be taken care of I send this by M^r Wallis³⁰⁴ who will be able to say many things more perticularly of the Eastern Country . being concernd wth S: William Warren about

³⁰⁴ William Wallis was captured by the French — probably on this very voyage — and taken to S^r Malo, where he made the best of his opportunities for observation, and concluded that the French might easily establish a trade

with New England for mafts, which the unprincipled colonists (he thinks) could readily supply (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 755).

about the Mafts for the Navy. my humble service to S:
Rob: Sowthwell and to all my freinds I am S' your most
obliged feruant .

ED RANDOLPH

[*Endorsed*]

8 Oct 89

From M^r Randolph

Ab^t 700 : gone ag^t the Indians

Warr^t issued to raise money as by N^o: 1

The Authority not ownd as N^o: 2 : 3:

Conneciticut inclining to S^r E: Andros: vpon the discourse
Inclosed: and will pay no men but by Ord^r from him who has
legⁿ Authority

Messengers to the Maques then answ^r as by Coll Byards leter
Albany apprehensiuue of the french in the Winter they want
Povder but cant be supplied from N. York or Leister.

A pirat at Salem

Hill Naval officer

the Rose kept at Anch^r

the Gon^r treated very ill.

LXXXVIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Oct: 15th 1689.—

S:

this inclosed^{***} I mett with by chance which I getting no
other I send it to you with a freinds remarks on it: Its full
of

*** The docket shows that the document referred to is the "Addrefs to the Princess of Orange." This was, however, not written by Mather, but by Abraham Kick, who was apparently a Dutchman and a friend of Shaftesbury (*supra*, Vol. IV. p. 245). The Addrefs is printed in the *Andros Tracts*, Vol. II.

of malice ag^t S^r Edm^t Andros: and abounds with ignorance and arrogance. I haue told you in my former letters that he was one of the Cheife Contrivers of the Rebellion and is still the Oracle of this place for he is in all debates etc: by this peece you may well gueſſe at what Rate wee haue things managed: M^r Wallis will be a great Euidence as to the ſtate of the Indians at the tyme of the Rebellion breaking out with vs. and what you haue in James Millens depoſition ſent you formerly he can ſpeake fully to it also being preſent when Millen declared the ſubſtance of what I ſent you in his teſtimony: wee dayly expect ſhips from you. and orders with a force otherwife you may expect little ſuccesse: tho the poeple are tyred out with expectation of their charter: others with guarding the Gon^t and us at the prison: which are kept onely for a ſhew and to lett the world be lieue that wee are ſtill kept in by the ſword as at firſt wee were made prisoners of Warr. yet theſe ſouldiers are ordred by the Gon^t and Councill to watch and ſeuereſly fined if they neglect: my letter to the Lords incloſed to you was in haſt ſealed vp which I broake open on purpose that nothing I ſend to their Lords[¶] might paſſe till you haue ſeen it I haue ſent to my lord of London an Anſweare to the declaration
of

II. p. 164. Mr. Whitmore ſays there that he has in vain tried to identify Kick. Shaftesbury was ſaid to have died at his house. Cf. *Andros Tracts*, Vol. II. p. xvi, and Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, Vol. II. p. 455, where Kick is called an English merchant "on the Gelder Kay" at Amſterdam. He had ſome years before (in 1668) lent his name to ſupport the authenticity of

the purely fictitious narrative called the "Isle of Pines" — the work of his friend Henry Nevill, one of the Commonwealth Republicans — which had an enormous vogue upon the continent of Europe. He prefixed two letters to the book, aſſerting the truth of the contents. It is hardly neceſſary to add that ſuſh a performance renders his appearance in the preſent caſe more than fuſpicioius.

of the 18th of Aprill: ²⁸⁶ Its long twas directed and delivered to the Clergy here and thought it therefore most proper to present to his Lords? wee can not gett it printed here: pray his lordship it may be pervsed and after such amendments made as are necessary that it may bee by his lords? appointm^t Ordred to be printed in England and a great number sent heither and the ministers obliged to read it to their poeple in their Churches vnder a penalty: I am 3 dayes streightned in the fayling of this ship and M^r Wallis stayes for my packett: I am S^r Y^r ED RANDOLPH

[*Endorsed*] N. England 15 Oct: 1689
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 23 Feb: 1689/90
with the letter to the Comms
And the Address to the Princes of Orange in Hollnd

[*Addressed*] To M^r Blathwayt.

LXXXIX.

²⁸⁶ Letter of 25th October (*supra*, originally intended to be sent by Wallis Vol. IV. p. 305). It appears from the earlier in the month. erased subscription that that letter was

LXXXIX.

RANDOLPH TO JOHN USHER.²⁶⁷*Board of Trade, New England, Vol. V. no. 40.*

An Abstract of a Lett^r from Edw^d Randolph Esq^r to Jn^o Usher, dated Boston from Comon Goal in New Aljeirs: 16th Octob^r 1689

you se we are noe Starters we haue compleated our halfe year The Governo^r & Councill & Representatiuies, haue by pressing Some & faire promises to others, gott aboutt 7 or 800 English & Indians, Some of this Collony more from Plimouth, und^r Benj^a Church whoe by accident landed att Cascoe wth his forces & putt of y^e enemy from destroying y^t Town, wth the loss of 8 men kild & 14 whoe dyed afterwards of there wounds haueing noe Chirurgeon, allowed them they haue done nothing more & this hapned well Sence there Forces haue ben outt, a Fourt att Oyster River taken & 19 Christians kild & taken Captiues; I hear of 40 more Cutt of in another place.

They haue sent outt there warrants by Phillips of Charlestown Treasuro^r to Sumons y^e people &c Charlestown haue Some, good men left M^r Graues, Cap^t Sprauge Cap^t Hamond & 2 Cuttlers oposed M^r Russells kepeing Court att Cambridge, they had them to ye Councill where they denied there

²⁶⁷ The letter as received by the scure episode of Andros's escape to Rhode Island and his recapture by one from Elizabeth Usher to much the same purpose, but mentioning the ob-

there power to kepe Courts or raise mony they were ordered to Cambridge Goal, butt those of Charlestown thretned to fetch them outt Soe Sprauge is voted outt of ye house of deputys, & he & Hamon putt outt from being Captains very few or none will pay any mony in Boston though to a poore rate, they say they haue noe power to lay any Rates on them Salem will nott pay one penny to a rate, this day M^r Dudley had his Estate att Roxbury attached att a Swite of wife^{***} for One Thousand pounds for denying him a habeas Corpus, the Lawes of England when for there Advantage are to be made use of: butt if ag^t them nott.

[*Endorsed*]

16 Oct. 89

Abstract of Lett's from
N. E. to J. UsherRec^d frō M^r Usher

Read 25 Feb. 1689-90

From M^r Usher 16 OctFrom M^r Randolph 16 Oct
Eight hundred men gone out
Cap^t Church at Casco Bay
M^r Graves &c Protests
M^r Dudley's Estate attached

B. A.

P. 70

XC.

^{***} For the proceedings against Wife and the other Ipswich men see *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 171.

XC.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE INDIAN WAR.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Common Goal Boston
Oct: 17th 1689.S^r

This is by my very Good freind M^r Ottly who was in the Commission of the peace for the County of Essex in this Colony and acquitted himselfe very well. he had the good fortune to escape Imprisonment tho he and his lady escaped not the Rude behaviour of a Rabble at Salem . but the more moderate prevented that calamity which otherwise he would most certainly haue mett with: No action by our Army ag^t the Indians (or rather a rout of men hauing neither officers who know how to command or souldiers how to obey) wee dayly expect them home hauing no supplyes sent after them nor money to pay them at their return they may in a mad frolick turn vs out of Goal. they are guilty of worse : I haue giuen M^r Visher an account of the Maques entertainem^t here and of 700^l spent vpon the Agency to Albany to treat with thos 5 Nations: no money will be paid till power appeare to order the Collecting of it my humble Service to S^r Robert Sowthwell and M^r Povey and to M^r Parry. I am S^r
your most humble Serv^r

ED RANDOLPH

I haue sent you feuerall
letters by M^r Wallis M^r
Chaplins freind; which I hope
you will receiue safely .

to

to M^r Blathwayt

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}:
William Blathwayt
Esq^r:
at the Councill Chamber
Whitehall
present by M^r Ottly

[*Endorsed*] New England 17 Oct: 1689
From M^r Randolph

XCI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON ANDROS'S IMPRISONMENT.²⁰⁹

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S^r

Common Goal Oct: 25. 89.

the inclosed coming just now to my hands I thought it
fitt to shew you thereby how wee are dealt with by these
who haue no sence of Justice or law: right or wrong but as
they guesse: this day I had advise from the Castle that S^r:
Edm^d Andros being kept in a low damp Room flowed with
water vpon euery shover and no chimney is very much dis-
ordred and will not be able to beare the cold of the winter:
I see no remedy tho' some haue desired hee may be remoued
to Boston and 20000^l security offred for his forth coming:
S^r wee all of vs might expect as good treatm^t had wee been
sent to Mexico to settle the Authority of the Crown of Eng^d
with the Religion of Our Church amongst those Inhabitants:

as

** An Abstract of this letter is given *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 303.

as wee haue mett with here : had wee been taken by the Al-
gereeenes in tyme of Warr : wee could expect No other then
slavery : but for Subjects of Eng^d to rebell ag^t the highest
Authority garded with the amplest Warr; that Crown can
grant : for protestants to be apprehended and imprisoned
by Schismaticall dissenters for being protestants : is a New
Eng^d Riddle, and wants a Sampson to vnfold : S^t wee are
vnwilling to be devoured by Swine : but patience is the best
remedy to S^t:

your humble Se^t E RANDOLPH.

wee haue new and certaine advise that the french from
Quebeck intend for Albany next January so soon as the
frosts has made the Lakes and Rivers passable: they will
not so easilly be turnd out. I heare the Commⁿ of the 3
vnited colonyes are projecting to send 100 men theither in
their Afflstance but cannot agree about it: One Summers
Cap^t of a Troop of Horse is returnd from the Eastern
expedition ag^t the Indians : they gott in a Swamp kild 5
horses they run away and mounted their fellowes and were
glad they scapd so. I heare not of one Indian kild tho :
1000 men in arms after them: in mine of the 15 instant to
their Lords^r I wrote of a fort at Oyster River and 19.
persons kild : twas a mistake in the first Report: 20 men
belonged to it: all, but one, left it to shoot at a mark not
far from the fort : the Indians watchd their opportunity :
went in kild that singe man : sett the fort afire : and ef-
caped: One Swain⁷⁰ Their Generall discouering the fire
sent

⁷⁰ See Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. II. pp. 593-4, for the exploits of Jeremiah Swain or Swayn.

sent some of his men to know the occasion : they finding it almost burnt down : brought him word back that they were all kill'd who belonged to the fort : whence that false report arose.

[*Addressed*] To the Hon^{ble}
M^r Blathwayt
at Whitehall
or in his Absence to John Povey Esq³
at the Plantation Office
by M^r Wallis

[*Endorsed*] N. England 25 Oct: 1689
From M^r Randolph
Rec'd 23 Feb: 1689
S^r Edm^d kept in a low damp room
with fire
20000^{lb} baile Refused for S^r Edm^d
Andros
The French Intend for Albany
in January

XCII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE MISDOINGS OF THE COLONISTS.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S:

Oct: 28: 1689

the inclosed paper ⁷¹ sign^d Nath Gould : Sen^r and James ffitch is a true copy of the words, as also of the matter Contained in their advise to Leisler: wee haue sent the Originall to his Excess: at the Castle: with much difficulty wee haue gott M^r Buckleys paper ⁷² with M^r Graues of Charlestown paper to M^r Russell printed which pray dispose of where you Judg most proper: I send some to M^r Chaplin : to the end the world may not bee any longer deluded with Lyes and shams : that the Rebellion here is the act of all the poeple where as onely Morton ⁷³ Minister of Charlestown Moode Allen young Mather Willard and Milborn ⁷⁴ the Anabaptist

⁷¹ This remarkable document is printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III. p. 589, and also in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 211, where it is endorsed as "Rec^d in a letter of Mr Randolph of 28 Oct." But the only letter of that date to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, is the one to Chaplin here alluded to.

⁷² Gerthom Bulkley signed the loyal address of the freeholders of Connecticut to the King and Queen (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1692, no. 2476). The title of the paper mentioned appears from the

docket. Palfrey (*History of New England*, Vol. III. p. 544) gives a full account of this Bulkley. He was brother of the better known Peter. See also Evans's *American Bibliography*, Vol. I. no. 459.

⁷³ Charles Morton had been one of the first great Dissenting schoolmasters who achieved such deserved reputation in England. He had had under his tuition no less a person than Daniel Defoe.

⁷⁴ There were two Milbornes, Jacob of New York and his brother (*Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689, no. 450).

Anabaptist preacher with some of the principall members of all their churches and some of the Old Magistrates were the cheife designers of it yet they calld God Almighty into the plott , saying that twas providentially done that all the poeple rose vnamously that twas by providence that I who was cheifely instrumentall in subverting the Gom: should be the man to putt them in possession of the fort . forgetting the Old proverb . he must needs go whom the Divell driues : for a Rabble admitts of No choise where force gouerns : Its probable some printer will if you thinke fitt print M^r Buckleyes paper and thanke you for the favour: if ffitches Adress^e in the very words were annexed to it : Twould lett the world know what rare Instruments are vsed in this Convulsion of affaires he being the head and leading man in Connecticott Colony as Hinkley with an insipide Confident parson (John Cotton a heady Independent) steerers the Colony of New Plymouth : S^r yesterday wee had an Interloper from Scotl^d arrived at Piscataqua : with Scotch Goods he pretends he cleared at Whitehaven but I know the Contrary for he went hence the 10th of July Loaden with Tobacco without giuing bond : but to make all easy and faire on his side getts Mark Hunkins another person (his partner at Piscataqua) to send a letter expresse to Boston : relating That the N: Eng^d Charter was passd and in possession of M^r Mather . etc : that he was stodp at Whitehauen by an Embarg . whereas the tyme from his departure hence to his return was but little enough to dispatch his busines in : howeuer the Gom: here rejoice exceedingly vpon this report talke of nothing now but trying and executing the Gon: and my selfe etc : I shall be glad to receiue your letters advising the
receite

receite of those many sent to Whitehall and to you from S'
your humble Ser^r

ED RANDOLPH

To M^r Blathwayt.

My humble seruice to M^r Guin
M^r Vivian M^r Parry.

Cap^t Trefry has been very sick
at Road Island is well recouered.
let Cap^t Nicholson know Ensign Russell
is dead at N. Yorke.

[*Endorsed*] N : England 28 Oct : 1689

From M^r Randolph

Rec^d 23 Feb : 89/90

An acco^t of the Paper Entitl Seafonable Motives to Duty
and allegiance.

An Interloper from Scotlad w^b Scotch Goods and brings
News that M^r Mather has got the^t Charter.

XCIII.

VAN CORTLANDT TO RANDOLPH IN PRISON.

America and West Indies, 578. n^o 78.

To M^r Randolph at Boston

M^r Cortland Lett^t to M^r Randolph

N Yorke 1689 Decemb^r the 13th

S^r it is about five months that I have been forc'd to absent
myselfe from the hands of the oppressour here & would not
have returned yet If I had not heard of M^r Rigs's arrivall
with

with letters & orders from England which Letters Jacob Leisler commanded and took from s^d Riggs altho' M^r Phillips & I demanded yr fame as being sent to us in absence of Cap^t Nicholson but nothing would doe he took them & thereupon proclaimed their Majestyes here againe King & Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland he gives himselfe the title of Liev^t Governour & Commander in Chiefe has nominated some to be of the Councill Given the Newyork Mayor & Aldermen Commi^cons he sent yesterday a messenger to me demanding the feale of y^t Province & screw. I return'd him for answer that there was none for this Province of Newyork one Jacob Milbourn is made Secretary they have opened the Secretarys office & took all in their possession they accuse me that I have betrayed y^t people in sending the records for Boston which hath much incensed y^t people against me altho' I told them that I knew nothing of it before I received your letters & advice about it no excuse will be accepted off I hope & doe not doubt but his Except yourselfe & other good freinds will give that true Character of me att home that that ill false & Clandestine report which the ill people have spread amongst the world of me may not be beleived before I am heard & if in any thing I can serve you I shall not be wanting The Liev^t Govern^r at his departure substituted me in his place to be your Attorney in receiving y^t Fees &c : due to you in the Country but it would be better to take a lion by the beard than to demand money of this incensed people to write you all what is faid & told here you would admire that amongst so many people and discourses so little truth is spoken of wch M^r Riggs will give you a further account who stayd here 4 days

days for his guide Perry who was kept in the Fort by Leisler for fending a letter from Rhoad Island in a vessell that was sent from Govern^t Broadstreet to Leisler & arrived this day I hope to write with M^t Newton alsoe therefore shall make short & shall be glade to hear of his Excell^t & all yo^r welfare desiring that you will be pleased to be mind full of yo^r freinds here & if it should happen that this was the last letter S^t wish you all happines^s & prosperity & shall not be wanting to write to you with all occasion my wife & son Johannes p^rsent their service to you & so doth your reall & faithfull freind

S. V. CORTLANDT.

[*Endorsed*] N : York :

13 Dec : 1689
Copy of M^t Cortlandt's Lett^r
to M^t Randolph

B. H N^o 5

Copy of a letter from
M^t Courtlandt

XCIV.

XCIV.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON THE WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Common Goale. Dec : 16th 1689

S^r Since mine to Mr Povey³⁷⁵ after 3 weeks delay our p^tended Govern^t sent Cap^t ffairweather to us in goale who read the ord^r n^o 1^t of which the inclosed a Copy we sent to them next day our paper no. 2: and mine alsoe no 3: then S^r Edmund Androis and M^r Graham wrote to the same effect wch was delivered to the Councill as yett we haue noe answere they are still vpon their delayes know not what to resolute upon would gladly heare from M^r Mather the cheife instrument in the ruine of this Country he is willing to faue his Creditt with the people and will rather oppose his Matys honour and charge breach of promise vpon his Ma^v the E. of Monmouth³⁷⁶ and his freinds in the Councill and Parlia^t than lose his reputation at home its probable M^r Mather may say the paper n^o 4: was printed against the will of the Govern^t and ordred to be suppressed tⁱs true t^was M^r Cooke one of their Councill endeavoured to have it calld in but the reason of that was because it did make known to the world the

³⁷⁵ This must be the letter to Povey dated 8th October, 1689, of which an abstract is given *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 303, with some of the enclosures here mentioned, which will all be found, but in a different order, in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1690, no. 700 (*enclosures*).

³⁷⁶ Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Mon-

mouth (1650-1735) is better known as Earl of Peterborough. He succeeded to the latter title on the death of his uncle in 1697, the year in which he was disgraced for attempting to suborn evidence of treason against Marlborough. At this time, however, he was in high favour.

the receipt of his Ma^v ord^r by M^r Riggs of the 30th of July ⁷⁷ dispatched from the E. of Nottinghams office : which they for many reasons had a minde to conceale altogether and now since their receipt of that of the 12th of August they would stifle the former some giuing out his Matye has but one Secry of State and such like idle discourse to amuse the people how easilly they are deluded appeares by the printing his Matys letter of the 12 of August dressd up and disguisid to that purpose which is easily credited their Deputys disperse them in all their Townes their Ministers tell the people its as great an authority as his Ma^v can give them that they have the Kings seale now for what they doe 6 rates are upon the strength of it layd upon the Colony to defray the p'sent charge of their warr ag^t the Indians and one rate and an halfe more in money to pay their Agents M^r Cooke to be joyned with M^r Mather whose saying he has his Ma^v promise &c. makes them all beleive they shall haue their Charter confirmed by act of Parlia^t they will hould Courts and proceed to choose Govern^r and Magistrates next spring according to their Charter they haue caused their Matys Declaration of warr against the ffrench to be printed and they proclaimed it here last thursday (M^r Broadstreet as I am truly informed) has wrote Leyster at Newyork that his Ma^v has graciously allowed of all their proceedings here and that he intends to take revenge upon the ffrench at Nova Scotia

⁷⁷ The order of the 30th July was a direction to send home Andros and his fellow-prisoners, and was signed "Nottingham"; that of 12th August was an order to continue the existing Magis-

trates in their places, and was signed "Shrewsbury." The point obviouly is that the people were persuaded that Shrewsbury was the only real Secretary.

Scotia for seizing 6 or 7 of their fishing Ketches about Sept^t last off Cape Sables but the ffrenc are now too hard for them Mons^r Perott ⁷⁷⁸ late Govern^r of Nova Scotia is returned to his Governm^t fortifyeing and enlargeing the ffort att Port Royall and proclaim'd warr against us &c. he will destry all the fishery upon our own coasts this winter and be upon us this next summer with small Piceroons together with those from the Westindies so that this Country will not haue a sloop passe from our harbour to another but in danger to be taken by them M^r Riggs told us of Coll Slaters ⁷⁷⁹ raisng 1500 men for N Yorke I feare he will be too late to succour Albany for the ffrenc Govern^r intends to attack it this winter with all the force he can raiſe and having taken that place will be Master of N Yorke before march next for at Albany and at Esopus he will finde ready 20 or 30 sloops belonging to N Yorke and thofe places to cary his men down the river and surprize it he will not loſe the opportunity of our pſent diſtractions to doe us all the harme he may eſpecially being encouraged by the K of ffrance's returning the Indian Captiues home with great pſents to the Sachems ſo that that diſference betwixt the 5 Nations and the ffrenc will be advantageouſly to the ffrenc compoſed they will be Masters of all the Beaver trade in thofe parts of the world and with the affiſtance of our Eaſterne Indians who ſtay only till Mons^r Perott has finished his fortifications will pursue

⁷⁷⁸ Perrot had been Governor for a very brief period in 1687. See *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1687, nos. 1197 and 1413, and (for a full account of him) *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III. p. 720 note.

⁷⁷⁹ "Slater" is a mistake for "Slaughter" as *supra*, Vol. V. p. 143.

pursue their victory upon us as far as they please to drive it for wee are in no condition to resist nor have taken care to fortifye any one place to stop them by the unhappy proceedings of this faction in subuerting this Governm^t we have given the ffrench the opportunity we had ag^t them and certainly had S^r Edm^d continued in the Governm^t we had put it out of the power of the ffrench to doe us the least damage and alsoe fortifyed upon the River S^t Croix the Easterne bounds of our Territory and brought all these ffrench to obedience and the 5 Nations would have destroyed or drove out of their Country all the ffrench settled amongst them and noe charge to the Crowne for the Revennu of the Governm^t would have defrayed expence thereof Our Govern^t finde they haue a desperate game to play will drive on with great resolution to force the people to pay their rates some disown their power others haue lost their trade are impoverished by the revolt That burthen which was divided amongst all the Territorys is now layd upon this one Colony yet by the inclosed they will keep a day of thanksgiving: pray God Deliver us safe out of this wolfe tropp here are now all those of the Church of England and others who shewed not themselves forward in the revolt designed for prison unlesse they will pay whatever att will and doom is layd upon them they might expect fairer quarters in Turky than here S^r Edmund Andros and all the Gent^a whom by yo^r favour you haue obligeid in contriving their freedome from their captivity give you their service and humble thanks I more especially because under greater obligations to be S^r

Yoⁿ &c:

E: RANDOLPH

[*Endorsed*]

[*Endorsed*]

Copy sent M^r Blathwayt
by way of Bilbo :
New England
16 Dec : 1689
From M^r Randolph

XCV.

RANDOLPH TO SOUTHWELL:³⁸⁰ THE SAME SUBJECT.*Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.*Hon^d S^rCommon goale Dec : 19th 89

Your obligeing letter of the 15 of Aug^t found me out for which favour I returne my humble thanks and heartily congratulate the honour done you by their Majestyes in giving you an opportunity further to serve the Crowne I have great reason to feare that this Country will be soon overunn by the ffrench unlesse speedy releife be sent from England tho they have no apprehensions of it being even Strangers 30 or 40 miles from their home I expect the Govern^r of Canada will be Master of Albany it cannot hold out (if he come against it) 12 houres and nothing probably but a very milde winter can p^revent it, not having ice and snow to march his army as to our Easterne parts the County of Cornwall and greatest p^t of the Province of Maine were lost last summer.

the

³⁸⁰ The account given of Sir Robert Southwell *supra*, Vol. I. p. 106, is incomplete and not entirely accurate. It was not Sir Robert who married William Blathwayt's daughter, but his son Edward, who by her was ancestor of the

Lords de Clifford of the present line. She was not Blathwayt's heiress, there being two sons at least. Sir Robert himself was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Dering.

the Indians and ffrench (joyning with them) may take Piscat-away this winter if they will attempt it for this Governm^t takes noe care to secure that or any townes out of their Colony leaving all to their own conduct neither have they one man amongst them who knows how to discipline and lead a foot Company they are full of expectation for their Charter and have as great esteeme for it as the Jews had for the arke noe p'parations are made for sending us home nor know wee upon what ship we shall be put aboard tho' its now above 20 dayes since their receipt of his Majestys letter of the 30th of July they have since received another letter from his Majestye of the 12th of Aug^t upon which they highly value their Governm^t and M^r Mather who procur'd it for them it answers the end of a Charter and if none be granted they will make that serve turne they are drove to their last refuge of wheedling and delaying time to see what looky accident may fall out to divert his Ma^{ye} from taking further notice of them as you may please to remember fell out in the yeare 1666 when they voted that Bellingham and Hawthorne⁸⁸¹ should not goe to attend at Court tho' his Ma^{ye} charged them upon their allegiance to appeare.

The fire of London and Dutch warr gave them longer tyme to Consider but from the restauration to the vacating their Charter I doe not remember any one Command or letter from his late Ma^{ye} that was with faith and sincrity complyed with as became good subjects and thus I fear they will deale with us now and elude the true intent of that letter: I enclose to M^r Blaithwayte M^r Mathers letter to M^r Broad-street

⁸⁸¹ For Bellingham and Hawthorne see *supra*, Vol. I. p. 40.

street which is printed to save his reputation he has therein treated his Ma^{re} K. William and the Earle of Monmouth most undecently to the end the people may see where the fault is if he doe not obteine their Charter I intend to send your hon^r a Letter from hence by the first vessell for London and shall therein inclose you one of those papers and in the meane time intreate the favour of you that by some method his Lordship may know how M^r Mather has exposed his Lordships favour to him I am well assured he has rep^sented me ill to their Lordships of the Treasury who (as M^r Chaplin tells me) have been pleased to stop my fallary here the faction has imprisoned my person and disposed of the profitts of my places I hope in time by Gods blessing and the favour of his Ma^{re} to make some of them repay my losses I have wrote to your board and should be more particuler but my circumstances will not allow it, what I heare is too true it evidently appears they have cast off all regard to the acts of trade and if a timely Check be not given them they will soon cast off their dependance upon the Crowne alsoe adhHEREING to that only as the Ivy doth the oake imbrace it till it by degrees grows up to the top and than destroys it they have given his Ma^{re} a fair opportunity to know them and to bring them to know their duty we have been made acquainted with the whole intregue sett on foot and managed but by a few: like that of their Countryman Venner^{***} the

Cooper

^{***} Venner was a notorious Fifth Monarchy fanatic, who appears as a freeman of Massachusetts in 1637-1638, and after removing to England plotted impartially against Cromwell and Charles II., under the latter of whom he was

finally executed in 1661. For his connection with Massachusetts, Winthrop is quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. LVIII. p. 212. See also *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 298.

Cooper who made that Commotion in London with a very small party this Country must not be lost it will indanger all the West Indie forraigne Plantations should the ffrench K finde leisure and men to pursue the p'sent advantage this Rebellion has given him by putting the whole Dominion from West Jersey to S^t Croix all out of frame which will not easily be reduced besides t'will cost a great expence of tyme and money to retake what is already lost to the ffrench and Indians which the men of this Country will never be brought to doe unlesse they have another sober understanding Govern' with 1000 or 1500 experienced soldiers to march out with them against the Enemy the ffrench dureing the time of Cessation obteined by the treaty of peace and Commerce made great encroachments into the lands of the 5 nations of Indians they have Castles as farr south as the back side of South Carolina during my stay here I have procured a drauft ^{***} of all the Country with the lakes and Rivers from Quebec to fflorida it has been Examined by such who have passed often between Albany and Quebec in Canoos both summer and beginning of winter and they approve of it I hope I shall have a safe passage if we can gett away from hence before the spring which God graunt S^r Edmund Androsse desires me to p'sent his humble service to S^r John Worden and to yo'selfe he is kept as cloſſe as the vileſt felon in Newgate and more cruelly treated but God be Praised continues in good health innocence is the only living for a ſtone doublet I entreat the favour of you to p'sent my humble ſervice

^{***} This "drauft of the country" is no doubt Macgregor's map, mentioned in Letter LXXXVI., *supra*.

service to my worthy freinds S^r Thomas Temple⁸⁸⁴ and to S^r John Worden with the due p^resentment of my hearty respects to M^r Sowthwell and all the young Ladys who I know will be glade to see mee I remaine in all duty

Yo^r hono^r most obedient and most humble serv^r

E RANDOLPH.

Copy to Sir Robert Sowthwell by way of Bilbo:

[*Endorsed*] N. Eng^d 19 Dec: 89
From M^r Randolph

XCVI.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON IRREGULAR TAXATION.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S:

Common Goal Dec: 30th 1689.

Instead of complying with his Ma^{ties} order of the 30th of July to send vs forthwith aboard the first ship bound for Eng^d fие weekes are now passd, wee are still kept vnder close confinem^t and tho 2 ships are ready for Eng^d they haue laid an Embargo vpon all shippes bound for Europe . (for how long tyme I know not) at least that they may heare from their Agent how he is like to succeed : but rather to know the issue of affaires in Ireland : The letter from his Ma^{ties} of the 12 : Aug^t last fully answeraes the design of their charter : and to let the world see they can do euen as well without

⁸⁸⁴ Sir Thomas Temple (1614-1694?) had been Governor of Acadia up to the time of its occupation by the French in 1667-1670, and was promised compensation for the loss of his office, but

never got it. He lived for some time in Boston, but died in London. For an account of him see *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX. p. 75.

without it, they hold a Court of Assistants in Boston : they haue condemnd one man to be hang'd another burnt in the hand : M^r Bradstreet is very weake and dying : and now M^r Danforth is sett vp for champion of the peoples Libertyes : he is Judge at this Court : has kept a Court at Charles Town : branded a young woman in the forehead (according to their Law Title Burglary) for breaking into a house on Sunday but tooke nothing away : and fined M^r Cutter an Inhabitant there 20^{lb} no Inditem^t or processe ag^t him : for being in company with M^r Graues when he delivered his protest to M^r Russell, (as you haue an account thereof in my letters upon Cap^t faireweather) Vpon the Creditt of his Ma^{ties} letter . they take vpon them to Lay 7 Rates and $\frac{1}{2}$ vpon this Colony : of which six to pay the Souldiers sent ag^t the Indians this summer : and one Rate and halfe to defray the charge of their Agent (or Agents, for yet they are vncertaine who will vndertake their errand or how many to send) they refuse to pay any Charges ariseing vpon S^r Edm^d Andros winter Expedition ag^t the Indians nor one penny to the Souldiers abroad with him in regard they were raised by an vnlawfull Authority: by a young man taken prisoner by the french coming in a Boston vessell from N^r foundland, and made his escape from Port Royall he fayes the french vnder Command of Mouns^s perott former Gon^r has almost concluded the fortification there . tis very larg and strong, all things return to their former course. euen their Constables staves³⁸⁵ chang with the revolution. vpon S^r Edm^d

³⁸⁵ In *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1686, no. 2155*, November) for the constables' staves, seven feet long, to be painted with the King's arms, after the manner of London.

Edm^d Andros arrivall here : they had painted the Kings Arms with I: R: which was soon after altred into W: R: but now thats altred : and instead of the Kings Arms an Indian is painted vpon their old staues with a Brasse head ; as M^r V^lsher can well describe : he was cast at this Court of Assistants for 30th tho' they produced the Kings Order to them : and will haue his estate abused for the Debts of the Gom^t my humble seruice to S^r Rob^t Sowthwell to whom pray deliver the inclosed printed paper directed to him. I am S^r your humble Seru^t ED RANDOLPH :

my letters intended by way of Bilbo I now send by Virginnia.

To M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] N : England 30 Dec : 1689
From M^r Randolph

XCVII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT ON IRREGULAR TAXATION.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

S^r:

Boston. Goal : Dec : 30th : 89 .

The letters I intended to send by way of Bilbo : I haue sent by Virginnia in regard they haue laid an Embargo vpon all ships in this port bound for Europe for as long tyme as they please : here are 2 good ships ready for Eng^d wee haue all wrote to be sent as his Math has ordred in his letter of the 30th of July : but no notice taken of it they will delay till they

they haue an account of the fate of the affaires in Ireland: and treat vs accordingly. M^r Mather did write to them in his letter of which you haue a part printed that so soon as his Ma^{ties} affaires succeeded in Ireland the E. Danby M^r Hallifax S^r Rob^r Sowthwell you and others who vnderstand the New Eng^d Banter^{***} will be remoued from Court and then they will haue a faire feild to do their busines.

his Ma^{ties} Letter of the 12 of Aug^t answeares the end of a charter they raise 7 Rates and halfe vpon this Colony amounts to 10000^{lb} 6 for to defray the souldiers sent out by them this last Summer and 1 rate and $\frac{1}{2}$ to defray the charge of their Agents: nothing yet concluded vpon of our going to Eng^d they hold a Court of Affisstant^s in Boston haue condemnd one man to be hangd another to be burnt in the hand: and all to affright the poeple to pay their Rates: not one penny towards the Charge of S^r Edm^d winter Expedition nor to the Souldiers abroad with him. because they were raised by an vnlawfull Authority: to let the world know they are in earnest, they haue little respect for the Crown. for the Constables Staues are altred from the Kings Armes: with: I : R : to W : R : and now to an Indian painted vpon their old ones as was vied in the tyme of their Commonw^t Gom^t with Brasse vpon the head. Mouns^s Perott former Gon^t of Nova Scotia: is returnd and has finished a large and

^{***} This is one of the earliest instances in literature of the use of the word "banter." Locke speaks of it as new-fangled, and Swift in the *Tatler*, no. 230. p. 7, says: "I have done my utmost for some years to stop the Progress of Mobb and Banter"; and elsewhere says it was "borrowed from the bullies in

White Friars" (Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s. v.). It had at first more the meaning of cheating than of joking. Cf. James Vernon's *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III.*, Vol. I. p. 335: "He being thus upon the banter was confronted with Morris."

and strong fortification at Port Royall : the inclosed from M^r Courtlandt giues an account of the miserable condition of the poeple in New York Gom^t M^r Riggs has stayed here some tyme onely for a paassage and cannot be permitted to proceed his voyage by reason of the Embargo my humble seruice to S^r Rob^t Sowthwell and M^r Povey I am S^r your humble Ser:

ED RANDOLPH

Wee hauing no answeare to our letter of the 13 instant ²⁸⁷ wrote another letter to them the 27th they are very silent and indeed know not what to say or doe

To M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] N : England 30 Dec : 168
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 6 May 1690

XCVIII.

RANDOLPH TO BLATHWAYT : THE LAST LETTER FROM GAOL.

Collection of the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt.

Hon^d S:

Common Goal. Jan^v 10th 89

By Virginnia Cadiz and other Conveyances I haue wrote to you since the arriuall of his Ma^{ties} Letter of the 30th July which M^r Bradstreet receiued the 24th of No^{ber} from M^r Riggs: I haue herein inclofed a letter to the L^d of the Committee for Trade, with which I haue sent severall papers to vouch the matter of fact therein alledged, t'would be a great seruice

to

²⁸⁷ *Supra*, Vol. V. pp. 24-25.

to vs if the Earl of Danby and Marq. Hallifax were by some meanes acquainted with the contents of M^r Mathers Letters where of a part onely is published of which I haue a very true account, and was to this effect, viz. that tho his Ma^{tie} in the 30th of July had required the sending S^r Edm^d Andros etc. to Eng^d forthwith: yet that their Onely security and wellbeing depended vpon keeping vs here till they heard further from him: That so long as those Lords continued to bee of the Councill, and you in their attendance they had no prospect of obtaining their charter: but he did most positiuely affirm, that his Ma^{tie} would remoue those and other Lords not named from the Councill. S^r Robert Sowthwell and you from all publick employ; so soon as the affaires in Ireland are setled.

I inclose to you a booke of Queries^{***} composed by feuerall of our Ministers. to shew the world what little regard they haue for the Hon^r of the Councill Table and the Courts in Westminster hall: they haue added to them some scraps taken out of copyes of my letters; this booke was printed at the publick charge and of such great esteem that twas sent to all the Towns in the Colony on purpose to enflame the poeple ag^t S^r Edmd and me:

Two shippes are ready for Eng^d and supposing they will send their Agents with an addresse to his Ma^{tie} in the least which tis said they will dispatch before they fend vs aboard: to the End they may form charges out of Collections of Depositions they haue taken ag^t vs: and be fully instruced how to proceed before our arrivall. I therefore fend this by John Yeardly

*** There is no mention of this book in Evans's *American Bibliography*.

Yeardly Mate of the ship Blossome of Charles Town : that their Lords^{ps} may haue an account how wee are treated : I hope in 5 or 6 weekes tyme to be putt aboard Bants ship (which is also ready) with S^r Edm^d and Cap^t Trefry who is pritty well recovered of his sicknes as yet they haue not agreed whom more of the number voted not Bay able to send , I inclose to you a paper printed here treating his Ma^r and the E. of Munmouth rudely and very vndecently : which pray by some meanes gett it communicated to his Lords^{ps} and obtaine also his Lords^{ps} permission before it be made publick at the Councill board : tho it may be of great vse to shew , how little M^r Mather and his faction value the honour of their Prince or of such who incline to favour them : so they may preserue their Reputation with this poeple. All things both in Councill and Courts are falling into the Old Charter way and the Ministers Cheife in both. they are now prosecuting at Law such persons who by the Commission to S^r Edm^d and by the Declaration for liberty of Conscience haue been excused the two last yeares from paying the ministers Rates, going to heare whom and where they pleased, this falls very hard vpon the Gent^a and others who are of our Church .they will be torn to peeces by the violence of these poeple, who bring Civill actions ag^t them for their Rates and to increase the Charg trye them before a Magistrate who dares not giue the cause ag^t a Minister : I would gladly beleive they do not intend to keep vs long, and therefore forbeare to giue any further trouble at this tyme : with my humble seruice to y^r Lady I am S^r

your most humble faithfull Ser^t

ED RANDOLPH

S^r

S: Edm^d Andros is treated after the old want . but sup-
ported ag^t all vpon the Expectation of being freed from this
more then Turkish Barbary.

they value themselues vpon the favour of M^r Hambden ³⁸⁹ and
S^r Henry Ashhirst from whom they receiued letters by the
last shippes

To M^r Blathwayt

[*Endorsed*] N : England 10 Jan^{ry} 1689/90
From M^r Randolph
Rec^d 2 Apr: 1690

XCIX.

BROCKHOLES TO RANDOLPH.

America & West Indies, 578. no. 1.

(Lett^r intercepted by Leisler from Maj^r Brockholes ³⁹⁰ to
M^r Randolph.)

S:

New Yorck 13th January A^o 1688

Just now I had y^e favour of Yours by this bearer Jno Perry & was very glad to hear of yo^r good health & y^e rest of o^r friends with you w^{ch} pray god to Continue , but Sorry for y^e troubles & delays that your Selfe & y^e rest of o^r Said friends must Still undergoe Yett doubt not but at y^e long runne you will obtaine Suitable Satisfaction for all y^r Sufferings , assoone your Cases can but have a fair hearing & determination of Impartiall Judges at y^r arrivall in England

w^{ch}

³⁸⁹ Richard Hampden was made a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury on 5th April, 1689 (Luttrell's *Diary*) and was afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer.

³⁹⁰ The name is undoubtedly Brockholes, and is derived from the village of that name in Lancashire. The family is now merged in that of Fitzherbert-Brockholes. Brockholst is a Dutch corruption emanating from New York.

wth pray god to prosper; as for o^r conditions here are truely as badd if not worse y^e y^{on} kanbee except only y^e wee are not under an Imediat Confinem^t Yet Subject to that & all other Infolencies as the Will of an Arch rebell & Tiran thincks fitt to Impose, the particulars you will heare by Cap^t Lodwycx who Intends for y^r parts this weeke to whom I shall referr my Selfe; And shall once more desire You to be Mindfull When O^casion Shall offer about My Concerns for the Speedy payment of my Company & wherein I at any time may be able to Serve your Selfe or any of my friends with you, You may be assured y^t I am

S^r Yo^r humble Serv^t

ANTH^o BROCKHOLES

N Bayard gives his hearty
Respects to y^r Selfe Cott
Dudly M^r Sharlok; M^r
farewell & all y^e rest of
the friends with You
not forgetting Judge Palmer

Copy.

[*Addressed*] To Edward Randolph Esq:
at
Boston

[*Endorsed*] N^o 12: 3
New York

13 Jan^r 1689²⁰¹
Copy of a ~~tre~~ Intercepted
by Leifler from Major
Brockholes to M^r Randolph

Recd. 10 Apr: 1690
B. H. N^o 9

C.

²⁰¹ The letter is evidently wrongly dated. It is plainly an answer to Randolph's of 28th December, 1689 (*supra*, Vol. V. p. 27), and the heading Jan. 13, 1689, should be 1688.

C.

BRADSTREET'S ORDER³⁹² FOR THE PRISONERS' REMOVAL
TO ENGLAND.*Board of Trade, New England, Vol. V. no. 63.*(Order of Cap^t Bant Co^mander of the Mehitabel to carry
S^t Ed^t Andros to Engld.)To Gilbert Bant Command^r of the ship Mehitabell.

Purfuant to his Ma^{ties} Commands in his Gracious letter
of y^e 30th of July last past (copy whereof is aboue written)
you are required in their Ma^{ties} name to receiue into your
charge & Custody on board the Ship Mehitabell whereof
you are Command^r now bound for Eng^d S^t Edm^d Andros
Kn^t Joseph Dudley Esq³ M^t Edward Randolph M^t John
Palmer M^t John West, M^t James Graham, M^t James
Sharlock & Georg Farwell, & euery of them herewith
deliuered vnto you by Cap^t John Fair-weather, & them
safely convey according to his Ma^{ties} Commands in s^d letter,
which you are exactly to obserue in all respects. hereof
faile not as you will answeare y^e Contrary at your perill.
Dated at Boston in this Colony of the Massachusett^s Bay
in New England the 5th day of February 1689 in the first
yeare of the Raign of Our Soveraine Lord & Lady William
& Mary King & Queen of England, etc.

SYMON BRADSTREET Gon^r
in the name of ye Gen[#] Court
Memd.

³⁹² The order is printed also in the *Andros Tracts*.

Memd. we were kept 5 dayes in Goal after the date hereof
at the pleasure of Cooke & Oakes

[*Endorsed*] Kingland Copy of M^r Bradstreets
5 Feb. 89⁶⁰ Warr. to Bant.
Order to Cap^t Bant Comand^t
of the Michitabel to
Carry S^t Edmond Andros &c
from England.
B. B.
P 33

CI.

LORDS OF TRADE: REPORT ON RANDOLPH'S LETTERS.

Board of Trade, New England, Vol. V. no. 67.

Report concerning New England

May it please your Ma^{ts}:

In pursuance of your Ma^{ts} Order in Councill of the 13th instant, upon the petition of severall Merchants Traders Inhabitants of New England setting forth the deplorable Condition of that Countrey by the Incursions of the Indians & French and praying that some means may be granted for the defence thereof, We have called before us severall Merchants and Traders of those parts, and read what Letters were then presented unto us, two of which were directed to the Right Hono^{ble} the Earl of Shrewsbury your Ma^{ts} principall Secretary of State, from M^r Symon Broadstreet and others who are in the present Administation [sic] of the Government of your Ma^{ts} Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
in

in New England acquainting us that they are labouring under extraordinary arduous circumstances by the distress of a War with the Indians, who being animated by their ill Neighbours the French continue their hostility and increase their Numbers which had necessitated the levying of Soldiers for the security and defence of your Maⁿ Subjects against the Incursions of that barbarous Enemy who have made great spoile and Depredations in the Provinces of Maine and New Hampshire and some within that Colony; That a considerable Force was abroad against them by the joint concurrence of the three Colonies, but that the disadvantage of the Woods, and many Rivers in those Parts render it difficult to come at or do any great Execution upon them, And that the charge of the War hath hitherto been maintained by the disbursements of particular Persons, There being no publick Treas^y to be found upon the Revolution, and the publique Stores of Ammunition very inconsiderable, Nothing since having been Raised there, but what hath been advanced by way of Loan to carry on y^e publick Charges of the War. That they cannot account themselves altogether secure from an Attaque by the French, who they are Informed have considerable Strength in the West Indies: But that they shall endeavour to defend and preserve your Maⁿ Interest, as well against the French as other Enemies of the Crown of England That the people of Albany had desired an assistance of men, to strengthen that Garrison fearing an Attacque by the French but that considerable Numbers of men having already been drawn out against the Indians, Supplies could not well be sent to them from Boston, but a Company was Raising in the Colony of Connecticut and the Towns

Towns in those Parts to be sent to Albany to their Relief which they hope will be speedily effected, the severall Governors of your Ma^{ie} Colonies there holding themselves concerned in the preservation of Your Ma^{ie} Interest in those Parts all which they humbly pray may be Represented to your Ma^{ie}.

We have also Received other Letters directed to us from Edward Randolph late Secretary of New England dated at Boston in New England in September and October last Informing us that the Indians had overrun the greatest part of the Eastern Countrey of New England from S^t Croix to Piscataqua River, about 200 miles upon the Sea Coast, and had taken the Town and Fort at Pemaquid the Place of most importance in all those Parts, together with New Harbour, New Town, Dartmouth, and the strong Fort there, the Fort upon the Pais at Damaras Cotter River, The Fort of Tuesfett at the River of Kenebeke, The Fort at Pojepscot, The Towns of Sagadekock, North Yarmouth, Richmond's Island and Saco, The Towns of Dover, Cachecha, and the Fort at Oyster River. And had burnt and destroy'd the houses, Corn and Catle, and had kill'd and taken Captive above three hundred Christians and had fallen upon Haverill within thirty miles of Boston. That the Fishery and Lumber being the Chief Commodities in those parts, are quite destroyed, the French taking their Fishing Vessells off Cape Sables, that y^e da^mage already done to your Ma^{ie} Subjects in those parts amounts to above Sixty Thousand pounds sterl and that the place from whence the great Masts were brought for the use of your Ma^{ie} Navy here, is now seized into the hands of the French and the Indians, who before

the

the Imprisoning of the Governor at Boston had been brought to such extremity that they were ready to submitt; but have since that greatly encreased their Numbers, Several Nations of Indians who before declined to affist, being now joyned to them; that the Inhabitants of Cape Cod lying on the West side of the Massachusets were also apprehensive of the Indians in that part of the Countrey. That the people of that Colony begun openly to disown the Power of the Government there, and refused to pay Rates or Taxes even for maintenance of the poor, and that the Acts of Trade and Navigation were daily violated, whilst your Ma^{ie} Frigatt the Rose was not permitted to go out of the Harbour to secure the Coasts from Privateers and irregular Traders. Which Informations having been confirmed by Several Letters from those Parts, to severall Merchants here in England laid before us at the same time, As also by the Testimony of some Persons, Masters of Ships and others who are lately come from thence, We humbly take leave to Represent the same to your Ma^{ie} shewing the present State of your Ma^{ie} Colonies in New England in relation to the French and Indians, and the unsettled Condition of Government they are in.

All which is most humbly Submitted

[Endorsed]

25 Feb. 1689

Report concerning New England
App^d 4 March 1689/90

B. A.

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N England } 168

CII.



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